THE DEVELOPMENT OF KRIO CHRISTIANITY IN SIERRA LEONE 1792 - 1861

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The thesis The Development of Krio Christianity in Sierra Leone 1792-1861, presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of Edinburgh has been composed by the candidate Mrs Elizabeth Currie Grant. This work has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree. The work has been done by the candidate. All quotations have been distinguished and the sources of information acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

The roots of Krio Christianity are to be found in a particular period of Nova Scotian religious history. The Black Loyalists, freed slaves, who had fought for the British during the American War of Independence on the promise of land and freedom, found themselves placed in Nova Scotia after the war was over. They arrived in the wake of Henry Alline, the prophet heralding the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia, and encountered an evangelical movement that went beyond the boundaries of the accepted evangelical tradition in Britain. They became involved, some to leadership, in Baptist, Methodist and Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion denominations and absorbed a particular strand of New Light teaching.

When the Black Loyalists journeyed to Africa at the invitation of the Sierra Leone Company they brought with them their specific religious beliefs and set up, in 1792, what were in effect the first black churches in tropical Africa. Slaves, recaptured from the holds of slave ships by British squadrons - arrived into Sierra Leone after 1808, disorientated, and without possessions. The Church Missionary Society, already using Freetown as a base, began the specific task of providing Christian instruction, and schooling in the assurance that Sierra Leone would develop as a Christian and therefore civilised country.

Soon after missionary work began there were signs that the preaching was having its desired effects, recaptives came seeking to know their sins forgiven. Delight turned to concern when the recaptives did not follow the pattern the missionaries expected to see. Their behaviour appeared excessive, shouts, groans, cries for mercy and faintings. It bore similarities to the events on the periphery of the revival movements. They began to recognise that it had more in common with the "Ranters of Freetown" than with the missionary example, and efforts were made to try and protect the recaptives from Freetown religion. The missionaries believed that the expressions and behaviour of the recaptives, and indeed of the Nova Scotians, were due to ignorance of the things of God and to the African temperament. They placed great faith in education to rectify both.

The formation of the Native Pastorate was seen as the climax of the development of Christianity in Sierra Leone pointing the way ahead for a "native" bishop. But when a recaptive was appointed bishop it was to the territories beyond the Queen's dominions. Both Bishop Crowther, and Henry Venn, the architect of the self governing church, regarded the Church in Sierra Leone as too English a church for a "native" bishop. In 70 years the Christianity had changed in character, a change that owed much to the dwindling numbers of Nova Scotians in the Colony and their corresponding decline as role models for the recaptives.

ABBREVIATIONS

CMS	Church Missionary Society
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
LMS	London Missionary Society
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
JRA	Journal of Religion in Africa
JNH	Journal of Negro History
NSHS	Nova Scotian Historical Society
SLBR	Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion
SLLR	Sierra Leone Language Review
SLS	Sierra Leone Studies

CONTENTS

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER FIVE

INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Sierra Leone to the Study of African Christianity

A F Walls has noted that in the past century the centre of gravity of the Christian world has shifted from Europe:

> the great majority of Christians, and the overwhelming majority of practising Christians are, and are clearly going to be, Africans, Americans, or Asians. And of these, the most startling expansion - the greatest expansion since what were for Europe the middle ages - has been in Africa, where Christians have been increasing in geometrical progression, doubling their numbers every twelve years or so, for over a century.[1]

The Christian world must look to Africa to see, and to learn from this new expression of Christianity freed from the cultural bondage of European tradition.[2] African Christianity has outgrown the categories introduced by European missionaries in its self extension and has proved the words of Bishop Stuart speaking at the Missionary Conference in London in 1888:

> The Christian Churches of the future, if left to their own healthy growth will differ much from us. The Churches in Africa do differ much "from us", indeed the whole idea of "us" as the Christian nation has changed. The growth of African Christianity demonstrated that the proclaimed universality of the Christian religion was possible, and revealed that Christianity was not tied to the cultural identity of Europe but took upon itself the local culture, and emerged in new and local forms of Christianity.[3]

Sierra Leone produced the first Christian Church in tropical Africa. It was a Church created and sustained by those of African descent, who had travelled the Atlantic with the assurance that God was leading them to their promised land. The land, they believed, was a reward for their faithfulness - their faithfulness to the British Government on whose side they had fought during the American War of

Independence, and their faithfulness to God. They were children of the evangelical revival even though their expression of Christianity drew censure for the evangelical chaplains, and surprise and despair from the evangelical missionaries who arrived in the Colony. They arrived already convinced of their denominational allegiance - Methodists, Baptists and those belonging to the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion, organised their Church worship and conducted their services and their missions. The vitality of their religious experiences dominated their churches and set them apart.

1. The Creation of Sierra Leone

The country drew together, in its inception, the philanthropic and missionary ideals of the men of Clapham, with the theory of the power and the place of commerce and industry within a civilised land. The Clapham Sect was the name given to that group of evangelicals living in and around Clapham in London: Granville Sharp and Zachary Macaulay were champions of the Abolition cause; Henry Thornton, a Member of Parliament; William Wilberforce, a Member of Parliament, one of the most effective political activists of the century; John Venn, the son of the evangelical vicar of Huddersfield, Henry Venn, and Rector of Clapham; and Charles Grant who served the East India Company and became chairman of Directors in 1805. Others, such as Thomas Clarkson, worked alongside the Clapham Sect in their attempts to bring about a change in the condition of, not only the Black poor wandering the streets of London, but also the slave population of the West Coast of Africa. The initial idea of a land on the West Coast of Africa where free men could live and prosper came from Henry Smeathman who presented a plan to the Government in 1783. The name "Province of Freedom" came from Granville Sharp, and it was he who placed considerable sums of his private fortune to ensure that the Province would actually come into existence. Sharp believed it to be the answer to the prayers of devout Christians in Britain anxious about the state of the Black poor, and concerned that Africa was a continent of darkness with no Christian light shining. Sharp and Thornton each became chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, Wilberforce, like

Thornton gave substantial amounts to it, and Macaulay became acting Governor of Sierra Leone in 1794 and Governor in 1796.[4]

The Province was to demonstrate the power of Christianity to provide contentment for the soul, and help sustain an economy that profited from honest labour, putting the slave trade to shame. The Black poor would live in a climate to their liking and among a people of their own colour. Sharp based his ideas of freedom on the Old Testament and old Anglo Saxon idea of government by Tythingmen and Hundredors (groups of ten families each electing a tythingman to represent them and every ten Tythingmen electing a Hundredor over them). The basis of the Colony was to be reason; everyone was to comprehend and be involved in the process of government, land was to be divided equally and taxation was to paid to the Government in terms of labour - every man was to offer sixty two days each year of free labour to the Government.[5]

Advertisements to travel to this land on the West Coast of Africa were put out via word of mouth and handbill, and in 1787 150 black people, chosen from among the 700 who applied, were on board ship sailing "home". Those who survived to land on 14 May 1787, found a deceptively green and pleasant land where the rainy season was just beginning and no preparations had been made for their arrival. Tensions with the local king of the area, King Naimbanna, fights with King Jimmy, (Naimbanna's representative) and slavers, and disease, destroyed the enthusiasm of these original settlers, and reduced their numbers by well over half.[6] In Britain, Sharp, aware of the problems but anxious that the project should succeed, wrote to "the Worthy Inhabitants of Granville Town in the Province of Freetown" indicating his plans for their well being:

> I am exerting myself as much as possible to engage several respectable merchants and Gentlemen to form a Company, in order to carry out an honourable trade with the Coast of Africa, and I have at least great hopes of success.[7]

Honourable trade - the source of prosperity - was to create a colony that would be the envy of the rest of Africa and an indication that the slave trade was economically redundant in the face of trade in agricultural products and raw materials. Yet as Fyfe points out, Sharp, chosen a director, found it repulsive to direct those he had intended to direct themselves.[8]

Just when the Province looked at if it would collapse due to lack of people and resources, Thomas Peters arrived in London bringing with him the grievances of the many Black Loyalists, who after serving the British Government during the War of American Independence, had been brought to Nova Scotia to eke out a living.[9] Peters was presented to the Sierra Leone Company who offered the Black Loyalists a home in Sierra Leone. These Black Loyalists became the life blood of the Colony, creating wealth and prosperity through trade, and ensuring that Christianity became a significant religion. They were joined in 1800 by a group of Maroons. These were a people of African descent who had been deported from their home on the Jamaican mountains for rebellious activity. They had initially been brought to Nova Scotia before being sent to Sierra Leone.

2. Sierra Leone - Triumph or Disaster?

Sierra Leone was an expensive venture for all concerned. The Sierra Leone Company were forced to ask the Government to consider taking full responsibility in 1803. It issued further grants but was reluctant to take on full responsibility. The Government was in a compromising position, warring against France and anxious not to have the expense and considerable inconvenience of moving the Nova Scotians, and their recent companions, the Maroons, to a new place. Sierra Leone was a politically sensitive issue; the Government needed the support of that faction of parliament embroiled in the fight for the abolition of the slave trade, and therefore supportive of Sierra Leone.

The debate on the slave trade raged for a number of years. There were those who claimed that the trade was not simply cruel but evil. The Abbé Raynal, opposing the

slave trade, argued against the assumptions that some held that negroes were a type of humanity born into slavery. Instead, he argued, they were the property of God who was their first master and from whose authority they were never released. Anstey, surveying the attitudes of many of many of those in Britain, against the slave trade wrote:

> The content of received wisdom had so altered by the 1780s that educated men and the political nation, provided they had no direct interest in the slave trade would be likely to regard slavery and the slave trade as morally condemned, as no longer philosophically defensible.[11]

However the trade was profitable, not only for the traders but also for a wide circle of people and industry. Those who were making a profit were reluctant to let go. Sierra Leone became a pawn in the debate. It was necessary to prove that a suitable financial alternative was available, an alternative that would be equally, if not more, profitable than the slave trade. All those who were concerned that Sierra Leone would prosper were also in support of the abolition of slave trading.[12]

A conviction of guilt also played a part in the formation of Sierra Leone. The Evangelical Revival had encouraged an independence of action and a new approach to personal responsibility. Many saw their Christian experiences as inconsistent with the policies of a Christian country; and as they were part of this Christian country they felt compelled to stand out against the trade. Sierra Leone was seen as offering a form of recompense for the evil that British slavers had committed against the Africans.

Throughout the century Sierra Leone was exposed to the critical eye of the British public and the British Government - its degree of success or failure was a matter of opinion. There were those who claimed it a triumphant success - the beacon of light that would introduce civilisation to the interior of Africa. Its educated elite were presented as proof that the African was capable of absorbing and assimilating Christianity and civilisation. Men like Samuel Crowther were displayed as the pinnacle

of missionary success, a black bishop behaving with all the decorum and sensitivity of a Christian gentleman. As further proof of success it was pointed out by those in support of the Colony that the recaptives and their children had been declared British subjects by parliament in 1853. Twenty three years later Fourah Bay College was affiliated to the University of Durham, which, while not granting the desire of James Africanus Beale Horton for an independent University in Sierra Leone, did give recognition to the College and allow students to graduate with university degrees.[13]

When it was suggested to G G M Nicol, the first Sierra Leonean to graduate from Cambridge University, that Liberia was a much more prosperous, industrious and Christian country than Sierra Leone, Nicol reacted strongly in defence of his homeland:

> leaving the commercial and agricultural points aside, Sierra Leone failed religiously! Whose fault is it? If that is for one moment the case, which it is not, does not the blame rest on those who undertook what they were incompetent to perform? And who are these men but the Missionaries of the various religious bodies? When a Mission, conducted solely by natives, fails, as it is said, or seems to fail, to put the blame on the agents, and ground the incapacity of the race thereon - and yet when another Mission, conducted in the first instance entirely by Europeans, when that is declared a failure, to saddle the people with the ban, leaving the missionaries to go scot-free, is manifestly unfair. I, for one, do not look upon Sierra Leone as a failure from an ecclesiastical point of view at all. Hence there is no necessity to come to any such violent conclusion, as that blame or reproach rests on our Missionaries whatever. On the contrary, I think it is a grand success, and what is wanted in that direction now is simply consolidation and extension.[14]

His answer defends Sierra Leone against many of the common criticisms that he was familiar with from his time in England. The image of the White Mans' Grave was a dominant one. Many Europeans had lost their lives in service, either to the Government or the Missionary Societies. The 1841 Expedition on the Niger, proposed by Thomas Fowell Buxton, was looked upon as a failure. Buxton, a leading evangelical and leader of the anti-slavery movement had published *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* in 1840. He wrote that the only effective way to stop the slave trade was to attack the trade at its source. It was only through pioneer work into the interior, bringing industry and trade to provide an alternative economy, that the slave

trade would be displaced. He suggested that Africans from Sierra Leone should be used as agents of the British Government to instigate this plan. The Government sponsored the expedition costing £100,000. The expedition was criticised when it arrived back reporting the death of forty five Europeans. In 1843 the two Societies that Buxton had founded, the "Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilisation of Africa", and the "Agricultural Society" were disbanded.[15]

The 1841 Expedition marked a change in attitude and policy toward Sierra Leone. While on the one hand greater emphasis was placed on the role of the Sierra Leonean agent to rule and control his own affairs whether in the churches or in government, there was also a sense of anger at the waste and loss of life, which later was to find expression in the many theories regarding the inferiority of the African race, and the senselessness in trying to aid them. The original feelings of altruism that the Clapham sect had personified in their constructive plans towards Sierra Leone were gradually changed. Ten years after the Expedition Mrs Jellyby's philanthropic schemes for civilising Boriuboolu Gha entertained the British public as Charles Dickens mocked the lovers of Africa. Dickens exposed the unjustness of missionary enterprise overseas when there was so much poverty in Britain, the "two works, the home and the foreign, are not conducted with an equal hand and that the home claim is by far the stronger and the more pressing of the two."[16] Dickens was not the only one to criticise what he saw as the misplaced philanthropy of the missionary movement and its associates while those in Britain remained neglected and abused. Jay cites Shaftesbury on the same issue. Remarking of a reformatory project he had in his hand, "If our asylum contained dead Indians or tattooed Zealanders we should excite overwhelming interest but because it contains only live penitents we have scarcely any [funds]."[16]

Sierra Leone was one of the first real success stories of the modern missionary movement, it saw the first sign of a mass movement towards the Christian faith. Sierra Leone provided proof that Christianity could and would become a "world religion" fulfilling the hopes of those who looked for the days when the "glory of the Lord would cover the earth as the water covers the sea".[17]

The missionary movement was the special child of a much greater movement in Britain and America - that of the Evangelical Revival. It began in the middle years of the 18th century, and was associated with a number of individuals who all claimed to espouse what came to be known as "vital religion". It was an experiential and emotional response to the teaching of Christ, and it involved a personal commitment. Their preaching, though not united into any planned attack, challenged the traditions of the Church of England, as they exhorted their hearers to repent of their sins and trust in God. Men like John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Howell Harris in Britain and Jonathan Edwards in America offered not so much alternative doctrines but alternative ways of understanding the doctrines of the Christian faith. They adopted methods of itinerant preaching that the Established Church feared and they castigated all who believed their salvation came from membership of the Church alone. The Evangelical Revival was concerned with a person's behaviour and duty before God, but the starting point for Christian duty was not good works but justification through faith in Christ alone.[18]

3. A Definition of Evangelicalism

Evangelical doctrine stressed the depravity of human kind and the impossibility of any person being able to please God on his own until he confessed how utterly unworthy he was before a Holy God whose right it was to punish him for his sin. From this position of total remorse a person could be saved by renouncing all pretensions to righteousness and accepting instead the righteousness imputed to him by Christ through His sacrifice on the cross. This gift of salvation from Christ was offered freely to all who believed in His atonement as a substitution and an atonement for the sin of everyone. It was at the moment of conversion, when a person accepted this gift, that they entered on their way to Heaven. The gift of assurance was given to the believer as a sign of their salvation.

David Bebbington defines evangelical religion using the four categories:

- Conversionism
- Activism
- Biblicism
- Crucicentrism.[19]

i. Conversionism

There were stages in the process of what the evangelicals termed conversion. A person convicted of his sinfulness would enter a long period of struggling and inward debate followed by a gradual period when the convicted sinner would experience the light of the gospel of Christ breaking into his soul.[20] W Selbie analysing the classic stages in the process of conversion, has written that first there is a sense of unrest, imperfection and impotence accompanied by a morbid self analysis, a fear of the future and a longing for better things. This is followed by a crisis, more or less sudden and irresistible, a feeling of passivity in the grip of a greater power. The final stage is a sense of peace and newness of life and satisfaction.[21]

What was significant about the converts was the common fervour with which all who had passed through the experience of conversion condemned their past lives. Even though many had lived upright moral lives, they shared with those who, like John Newton, had led lives of wrongdoing, the great consciousness that they had been totally unworthy in the sight of God. They believed their previous good works were as filthy rags. It was this belief in the total depravity of all persons that characterised the evangelical and conditioned his belief that all persons, no matter how good their lives were, needed to repent of their sins before God and beg forgiveness. The crisis of conversion took many forms but all depended on the person surrendering themselves before God and recognising their total unworthiness. It was by faith alone that a person was justified, for salvation was a gift from God that could not be earned or gained from living and acting in a particular way. It was not that this emphasis

was new, Luther had stressed that "acceptance by God came through faith not works".[22]

Once a person received the gift of salvation they could also receive the gift of assurance that their sins were forgiven. Assurance, while again not a new concept within the Christian tradition, gained a new importance within evangelicalism. The Westminster Confession of Faith stated that:

> This infallible assurance doth not so belong to the essence of faith but that a true believer may wait long, and conflict with many difficulties before he be a partaker of it.[23]

Evangelical Christianity encouraged the believer to look for assurance of their salvation. Influenced by the Moravians who taught that assurance was of the essence of faith Wesley came to understand its presence or absence as the result of whether a person had saving faith accepted as a gift from God. While Wesley did hold that one could be converted without having assurance, it became the norm rather than something that was rare in the Christian life. No longer was assurance seen as the result of a mature faith only gained after years of living a dedicated Christian life.[24]

Bebbington draws some interesting conclusions regarding the new emphasis on the place of assurance in evangelicalism. He places the whole evangelical movement in the context of the Enlightenment. While the rationalism that was banning superstition, inspiring new developments in science and stressing above all the god of "Reason", did not appear a happy complement to the Revival phenomenon, the heart of both depended on empirical thinking. Wesley rejected simply the reliance on emotion and feelings, he knew of the dangers of "mistaking the mere work of the imagination for the voice of the Spirit". He recognised the ill consequences of "undervaluing reason, knowledge and wisdom in general".[25] It was reason that dictated his doctrines of salvation and assurance, rather than imagination. Wesley was well versed in Enlightenment thinking and he used it in his own presentation of the Christian doctrines.

His doctrine of assurance has its roots in the writings of the philosopher Locke. In an *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690, Locke argued that experience is the source of all understanding. All that we know derives form the five senses, no-one can have any knowledge of anything other than through the senses. Peter Browne, the Bishop of Cork and Ross, interpreted Locke's doctrine for a theological agenda. As all knowledge came from direct sensations from the external world, knowledge of God, who was not part of the external world could only come indirectly "the result of reasoning about experience". While Browne accepted experience but distrusted any claims to direct experience of God, Wesley sought such direct experience. As all knowledge was a matter of sensation, knowledge of God came as the result of the "Direct witness" of God. The experience of the direct witness was confirmed by reasoning, this reasoning being what Wesley called the "witness of our own spirit". It offered proof of the incontestable "divine witness" of God. It was this witness of the Spirit that allowed a believer to claim that he knew his sins were forgiven. In it he could claim the doctrine of assurance as his. As Bebbington points out:

> The Methodist teaching about assurance was new because it was part and parcel of the rising Enlightenment. It was a consequence of Wesley's application of an empiricist philosophy to religious experience.[30]

The greatest difficulty that the evangelicals faced in their new stress on the specific experience of conversion was its relation to the doctrine of baptism. Theirs was the difficulty of reconciling the belief that, at the time of conversion, a person enters into a new life with Christ with the statements in the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England declaring an infant regenerate at the end of a ceremony of baptism. The catechism stated that baptism is the occasion of a new birth into the community of Christ. In the sacrament of baptism a child was baptised into the Church of England. This entrance to membership of the Church was followed by regular religious instruction when the child was able to learn and understand. The question facing the evangelicals was, how did what happened at baptism and what

happened at conversion relate - were they contradictory or were they part of a process?

In his *Treatise on Baptism* Wesley noted that it was only by quenching the Holy Spirit of God by long continued wickedness that the regeneration from baptism was removed but he continually insists that many who claim their hope of Heaven because of their baptism are blinded because they have been living lives fighting against, rather than for, Christ.[31] What was looked for was a conversion. He believed with Whitefield that:

> Man must be a new creature and converted from his own righteousness to the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ; conviction will always precede spiritual conversion.'[32]

The Eclectic Society, so influential in the formation of the Church Missionary Society, discussed the question of baptism in 1805. The question raised was "what efficacy may be expected to attend baptism and whereon does it depend?" Josiah Pratt, first Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, is recorded as saying:

> ...that the baptised are incorporated into the visible church of Christ and thereby entitled to the pardon of sins, received into the number of God's children through Christ, and have the right to expect the Spirit's influence as long as they do not wilfully violate their baptismal covenant. They are born again or regenerated into a new state, have entered on new relations, are obliged to live new lives, are admitted into the body of which Christ is the head and in which the Holy Spirit lives. This is baptismal regeneration and what will be attended with the renewing of the Holy Ghost, where there is no obstruction to His sacred influence.[33]

The emphasis on there being no obstruction to the sacred influence of the Holy Spirit was significant because all of the evangelical Anglicans insisted in their accounts of their conversion that they were not only unworthy before a Holy God, but had been obstructing his course of love by their selfish lives. Charles Simeon, perhaps the most influential evangelical Anglican of this period, wrote that baptism was a change of state, what was needed was a change of nature.[34] William Wilberforce, writing in the same vein, stated:

> as people grow up they may lose the privileges of being children of God which, we trust, they who were baptised in their infancy did enjoy.... Should not their particular sins of disposition, temper, or conduct be used rather to convince them of their being in a sinful state, and as therefore requiring the converting grace of God, than as merely wanting a little reformation.[35]

Evangelicals, whether Anglican or other, stressed the need for the feeling and conviction of human depravity before a Holy God, it was this conviction that would cause deep sorrow over sins and lead to repentance, with the forgiveness of sins and the assurance of salvation. The significance of baptism varied but it was always interpreted alongside an evangelical conversion experience and not as the sole sacrament of salvation.

ii. Activism

Conversion was seen by the evangelicals as:

> a great and glorious work of God's power at once changing the heart and infusing life into the dead soul.[36]

The infused life led to new activity:

> Persons after their own conversion, have commonly expressed an exceeding great desire for the conversion of others. Some have thought that they should be willing to die for the conversion of any soul.[37]

Faith was regarded as the only means whereby a person could be made right with God but the evangelicals insisted that faith, as soon as it existed, created an impulse towards better living. Evangelicals were at the forefront of many philanthropic movements to better the lives of those who were suffering - children, slaves, those in prison, the destitute. The great force behind the cry for abolition of slavery came from within the evangelical camps. The Earl of Shaftesbury reviewing his life's work could comment:

> I am essentially and from deep rooted conviction an Evangelical of the Evangelicals. I have worked with them constantly, and I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements of the century have sprung from them.[38]

Various reasons have been given for this attendance to philanthropy, in part it was the following of Christ's command to take care of others, in part it went hand in hand with efforts for the conversion of those they were helping. Evangelicals worked towards the good of society attempting to bring complete truth to the assertion that Britain was a Christian nation. It was not a "socialist policy" in that evangelicals were not concerned to change the economic substructure that was the initial cause for the poverty and cruelty they witnessed. (They saw, and accepted, society as the provision of God in his divine plans). Their philanthropy at home inspired their missionary involvement abroad. The two went hand in hand for the ultimate purpose was the salvation of souls.

One direct result of the evangelical revival in Britain was the creation of a number of missionary societies formed with the intention of bringing the good news to the Heathen. Evangelical Christianity was successful because it saw mission as the duty of all Christians to take up their role as appointed agents to bring the gospel to others. William Carey argued in his small but influential work, *An Enquirey into the Obligation of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathens*, that Christ's commission in the gospel of Matthew was binding on all believers.[39] The Commission "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you", had been previously treated in Christianity's high Calvinist circles as applying only to the early church.

There was optimism sparked by the revivals that many would turn to Christ. A new emphasis in prophetic interpretation insisted that it was not until those with no knowledge of God were converted that God would return to his world again in a glorious second coming. Many evangelicals claimed that a future state of happiness on earth would occur for one thousand years, as promised in the book of Revelation.

After these one thousand years Christ would return to the world in the Second Coming. Those such as Carey held that the conversion of the heathen would usher in the millennium. This post millennial view of the last things was influential in encouraging missions.[40]

iii. Crucicentricism

The doctrine of the Atonement was central to evangelical Christianity; indeed the atonement eclipsed even the incarnation among evangelicals. In order to make sense of their interpretation of human depravity and the uselessness of good works there had to be an alternative method of salvation which was accessible to man but which did not come from him. The evangelicals stressed how Christ had died in substitution for humanity, the just penalty for human sinfulness was, and should have been, death, but because Christ died in place of humankind, all could escape the wrath of God by placing their faith in Christ, and his atoning death.

Thomas Scott wrote:

> Christ indeed bore the sins of all who should ever believe, in all their guilt, condemnation, and deserved punishment, in his own body on the tree.[41]

All who renounced their own professions of righteousness and accepted the righteousness of Christ, accessible to them through Christ's sacrifice, could be saved. It was the crux of the evangelical message. Gratitude for what Christ had done by sacrificing His own life on a cross was held as the motive for spiritual growth. It was this that caused the believer to offer his life as a sacrifice to God in His service.

iv. Biblicism

The fourth category that David Bebbington uses to define evangelicalism was that of Biblicism. The evangelicals devotion to the Bible was distinctive, exhibiting itself in

the emphasis on family prayers and private devotions when the Bible was read. The evangelical experience that each believer went through was seen to have scriptural warrant in the Bible, verses were continually quoted as an explanation for actions. Often in the testimony of a convert reference would be made to the crucial part the Bible played in their conversion experience.

Evangelicals, like others within the church, held that the Bible was inspired by God. Henry Venn wrote of the infallible word of God in his classic work on the evangelical life, *The Complete Duty of Man.*[42]

The Evangelical Revival was essentially a protest against the prevailing attitudes toward religion and morality, it was a concern with correct behaviour, as Hannah Moore wrote, "It is a disposition, a habit, a temper: it is not a name but a nature".[43] Wilberforce established the issues of evangelical living in his book, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious system of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country contrasted with real Christianity*, 1797.[44] The evangelical provided proof of the reality of their calling by their lives. It was their actions that demonstrated that they were saved.

v. The Evangelical lifestyle

Evangelicals perceived that time was theirs to spend in God's service and wasting time a form of sin. They had an obsession with time and how it was spent. Wesley, Whitefield, Macaulay and many others all rose at dawn to spend time in devotions. Sabbatarianism was another reflection of their perception of the right use of time. Evangelicals were seen to abstain from worldly pleasures seeing their time more profitably spent in others ways. They were often seen to be self denying when it came to things of enjoyment. They were often a separated group which while intensely involved in the affairs of life were anxious to mix as little as possible with those who were not evangelical. They disliked the apparent influence of this world. Ian Bradley records an interesting story of Zachary Macaulay who castigated a young Nova Scotian

woman in Sierra Leone for the excess of finery that she wore. The result of his censure was that the lady discarded "her monstrous, mis-shapen dress, and reverted to the use of plain and simple attire, and her lowly looks were, I hope, no fallacious indication of a humbled mind."[45]

Evangelicalism encouraged community life; by its very nature it inspired close-knit Christian union. The conversion experience became a recognisable format joining together all those who passed through it. The activism that evangelicalism encouraged united together Christians in common work.

4. The Results of Evangelicalism

i. Wesleyan Methodism

Wesley asserted that what distinguished Methodism from Anglicanism was not a different doctrinal base but a different approach to doctrines. He sought all his life to keep the Methodist society within the boundaries of the mother church, the Church of England.

The distinctive features of Methodism were the cause of its final departure from the Church of England. Wesley was an Arminian holding out salvation for all who believed and not just for the elect. In rejecting the doctrine that some were fore-ordained to salvation by God's decree and some were not, Arminianism challenged the basis of the theology of salvation held by the Calvinists. While Wesley himself was tolerant of the division between himself and Calvinists, many of his followers were not, and fierce discussions dominated the latter part of the 18th century over this very issue.

Wesley rejected the Calvinist doctrine of imputed righteousness, the belief that God treated sinners as righteous by the understanding that Christ's merits were theirs. Such a belief, he held, opened the way for immorality and prevented the possibility of a clear moral code. If believers could continue to sin and yet be accepted by God

for Christ's sake then there was no prevention against sinning. Wesley and the members of his societies believed that a person ceased to be a Christian when he performed a sinful act. His understanding of sin led to Wesley developing a doctrine of Christian perfection that became one of the distinguishing features of Methodism. Wesley believed that while no Christian should commit sinful acts, the perfect Christian was also freed from evil thoughts and temper. Wesley's doctrine of sanctification went much further than the Calvinist doctrine of sanctification that stressed a long and gradual process of moving towards a holy life. For Wesley, sanctification, like assurance, was a gift from God and therefore could be achieved instantaneously after the believer sought and prepared themselves to receive it.[46]

After the death of Wesley the more respectable of the Connexion turned to a watered down version of the tradition rendered by W. Arthur in *The Temple of Fire*, 1856. Arthur argued that the difference between receiving the Holy Spirit, and being filled with the Holy Spirit was a difference not of kind but of degree. But a new school of thought on sanctification developed mid century. Whilst Methodists had traditionally taught that the crisis of sanctification came at the end of a long quest the new view held that it came at the beginning of the quest. It became an act of simple reception, for the Methodists argued, God will give the needed faith whenever we want it and so holiness is available without waiting for it.[47]

Methodism developed the small society and grew from it. Admission as full class members was open to all who sought the forgiveness of sins and not just to those who were already converted. There was no correspondence between joining the Methodists and entering into the true Church of Christ. Those who had the form of godliness and desired the power thereof joined together in special classes designed for Christian growth. What was significant about Methodism was its lay population. Its class leaders, band leaders, stewards in charge of society funds and trustees in charge of societies Methodism was built on lay workers.

ii. Anglican Evangelicals

Anglican Evangelicals believed that nothing that Evangelical doctrine presented ran counter to the teaching of the Church of England. Simeon, one of the most renowned evangelicals, was a devout churchman who had a profound respect for church order and ecclesiastical authority. At a time when evangelicals within the Established Church were being treated with suspicion and branded as Methodists in disguise, Simeon, and others such as John Newton and John Venn, worked in a careful and systematic way to demonstrate their loyalty to the Church.

There were reasons for the criticism of High Church men. There was fear that the republican legacy of the previous century was being kept alive by all manner of dissent. The activities in France only served to bring to the present the ghost of the past. Burke's *Reflections of the Revolution in France*, 1790 provided evidence that when religion ceased to be the basis and stronghold of the State then anarchy would follow.[48] The Church and the State were mutually dependent and any deviance from the Church was looked upon as potential deviance from the State.

Evangelical Anglicans shared a common religious purpose with evangelical nonconformists. Both rejected the formal religion that they saw all around them. Henry Venn's work *The Complete Duty of Man* was published in 1763. It reinterpreted Christian duty as the manifestation of personal holiness made possible by evangelical conversion. It was an evangelical attempt to challenge the established religious textbook of devotion *The Whole Duty of Man*. This revered work had established that it was only by strict obligations to God through faith, worship and the sacraments; to oneself through humility, contentedness and temperance; and to one's neighbour through justice, honesty and fairness that a man could care for his soul and secure temporal and eternal happiness. *The Whole Duty of Man* did not call for an individual conversion experience; instead it stressed the importance of religious duties.

Evangelical Anglicans believed that their place was within the Church of England, but not within the bankruptcy of "formal religion".[49]

Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect were supportive of the English ecclesiastical and political establishment. Reforms such as the Abolition of Slavery were brought forward because they were seen to be consistent with the Christian morality of the Country rather than because they wished to turn upside down the social order. Evangelicals sought to recover the identity of Britain as a Christian nation. They were concerned with public behaviour, with the morality of the nation. They believed that their appeal for the individual conversion of the nation would lead, not to rebellion, but to greater public morality and orderliness. The problem they faced was the attitude of the High Church party within the Established Church who identified Evangelicalism with the enthusiasm of the Quakers of the previous century.

iii. The Problem facing Anglican Evangelicals

The problem was contained in the Acts of Uniformity. The 16th century saw the acceptance of the idea of a single undivided Church as the guarantee of the security of civil society. Between 1549 and 1559 three Acts of Uniformity were entered in the Statute Book each designed to prescribe a certain form of worship and to ensure, by the threat of penalties, the least deviation from the prescribed practices. Those who rebelled paid the penalties, some with their lives.[50] The late 16th century saw the emergence of a Separatist movement in Britain that never was eradicated from religious life. The Separatists, a diverse group, were for the most part concerned with the Church's relationship with the State and Society at large and its particular internal organisation and government. They expanded dramatically in the 17th century, the result of the Civil war, the Commonwealth and contact with Europe through trade and military activity. The 17th century saw numerous presentations of separatism.[51] The new outbursts were characterised by what the Established Church castigated - enthusiasm. Enthusiasm placed emphasis on feeling, and appeared to rely more on emotional response than on the Church, the Bible or the Sacraments.[52] The Separatist tradition challenged the concept of Church membership, advocating voluntary membership from those who assented to the Church's discipline, but such a view

challenged the traditional view of the Church as a territorial body, a notion that survived the Reformation almost unaffected and which appeared as an essential ingredient in the cultivation of a Christian Society.[53] Separatism appeared a threat not simply to the religious life of the Established Church but to the stability and loyalty of the country. The Church was regarded as the guarantee of the security of the nation, therefore any challenge to its authority or its constitution was inevitably treated as a challenge to the integrity of the nation. Fear conditioned and influenced the treatment of all those who stood outwith the Established Church. There was no telling where their actions might lead. The French revolution was adequate proof of the potential problem, as was the execution of Charles I a century earlier. It was little wonder that dissent was branded as sedition.

It was into this situation of tension that Anglican Evangelicals of the early nineteenth century were called to act. They shared their evangelical convictions with their Dissenting brethren. What they did not share with the Dissenters was their understanding of the place of the Established Church. The majority of Evangelical Anglicans were loyal to the Established Church and wished to remain so. They may have shared John Wesley's frustrations, yet like Wesley they believed the mother Church to be the best example. Most abhorred the step that Wesley finally took in moving Methodism outwith the confines of the Established Church.

G F A Best has examined the tensions between the evangelicals and the Established Church in the early nineteenth century. He saw the division between the two as ecclesiological and political in nature. Evangelical commitment to a national Church was seen to be weakened by their apparent commitment to the "Invisible Church" consisting of all those who were "real Christians".[54] Their commitment may have been first and foremost to those who had "experimental religion" but almost all the Anglican Evangelicals had a clear view of the place of the Church within their pattern of things. Simeon believed that Church order was a subset of the general order in Society. Disorder in the Church reflected a community in upheaval and Simeon had a tremendous fear of upheaval and anarchy. The Evangelical Anglican view of the

church, which will become clear when we consider the formation and the policies of the Church Missionary Society, was a loyalist view. As for their political position, none were more rigidly Tory than many of the Anglican evangelicals in the early years of the 19th century. There was an abhorrence of what had happened in France, Simeon rejected the manner and means of the revolutionaries and all that they stood for. He urged the Christians to be the "quiet of the land".

While Evangelical Anglicans were carefully explaining their political consciences, the majority of the followers of Wesley, concerned about the development of Methodism in America, were making their own political opinions clear. Wesley was aware of the difficult situation he was bringing his followers into by his actions that went against the rules of the Established Church. Both itinerancy and religious gatherings without a minister present were condemned by Churchmen. He had made it clear that he believed his actions had no political implications. He remained a loyal supporter of his King and Country. By the mid 1790s a new generation of Dissenters, aware of the political connotations of Dissent, became impeccable in their orthodoxy, their outward respect of the law and their political quiescence. They stressed that evangelical teaching, supported the existing structures of authority and, far from undermining political control, engendered subordination.[55]

iv. The Formation of the Church Missionary Society

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was in part an Evangelical clergy response to the non-denominationalism of the London Missionary Society (LMS), and a response to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). It reflected their particular perception of Church order and the role and place of the Established Church, within their religious beliefs. It was not established in order to create a network of episcopal state churches, its purpose was for missions to the "heathen" and it was created to enable Anglican clergy to become involved in such missions within their own church. The founding members of the CMS made it clear that they did not reject the work of the nondenominational body, the LMS, which had been established in 1795. But

the LMS did not function along the lines of Church order, and this was seen as a hindrance to some evangelicals within the Church.

The body which became the matrix of the CMS was known as the Eclectic Society. This was a group of Churchmen (with a few Dissenters) who met together on a regular basis to discuss particular theological issues. The Society first mooted that Anglican Clergy could not work with the LMS, and first suggested a voluntary missionary society operated by, and for Churchmen.[56] The Eclectic Society met on 1 April 1779 to draw up a draft of rules for the proposed Society.[57] A short while later John Venn, one of the Clapham members, drew up an *Account of the Formation of the Society* which affirmed that the Society functioned on Church principles, but not High Church Principles.[58] It was to be a Society of Evangelical Churchmen who would follow God's leading, were satisfied with a modest beginning, emphasised prayer and careful discussion over fund raising, and depended on the Holy Spirit.[59] The pattern created by the General Committee was characterised by an analogy between clerical patronage and missionary appointment. In the same way that the holder of an advowson exercised secular power with respect to living, viz., the right to present a candidate to the Bishop for licensing, the Society intended to choose the missionaries, place them, and meet their expenses.[60] The Committee expected the Bishop of London to supervise in a religious capacity only those who were ordained missionaries and not the lay missionaries who travelled out.

The Society met with a number of problems right from the beginning. The Archbishop of Canterbury refused to recognise the Society explicitly; the original proposal, made by Charles Simeon, to use lay missionaries received the brunt of the High Church wrath and was rejected by a number of Evangelical clergy fearing to associate themselves with such a Dissenting policy. Canon law did not recognise missionary appointments as a sufficient title for ordination. The CMS struggled in its early years to find any personnel and finally had to accept the offers of Steinkopf, the LMS foreign Secretary who proposed that the CMS use Lutheran candidates training at the Berlin Seminary. Its problems, relations with the Established High Churchmen,

and its perception of itself, not as a Dissenting Missionary Society, but as that of the Church of England, all are significant in an attempt to understand the role that the CMS played in one of its earliest missionary stations, Sierra Leone.

The Nova Scotian Heritage

5. Christianity in the American South

When the American War of Independence broke out the British, desperate for man power, offered slaves freedom in exchange for joining the army. A number of black regiments were formed. Britain's failure to win had significant consequences on the black regiments who found themselves transported to Nova Scotia, with little else but their religious convictions. There they met disapproval from the established Anglican Church who rejected their Methodist and Baptist denominations, believing that all loyalists to the Crown of England should be loyal to the Crown church.[61] Negatively, the black settlers were confirmed in their attitude toward established Christianity. Their spirit of republicanism was to remain with them and dominate their convictions in Sierra Leone.

Many of the Black Loyalists were already Christian, having been converted during the periods of revival known as the Great Awakening. The Great Awakening was, in fact, not so much a revival as immense missionary enterprises. Christianity was preached for the first time in many areas and the results were indicative of a people searching for a religion that made sense of their situation, gave them hope, and the authority to actively seek that hope. Many questions are raised as to why the Awakenings occurred when they did, and why they had such an overwhelming effect on the South and among the Black population. The SPG had been responsible for offering a formal Christian education to the slaves on the plantations, but they presented a Christianity which the slaves saw as belonging to the slave owners. The SPG, conscious of the property laws by which slaves were held, were reluctant to make any social comment

on the place of the slaves and most saw no incompatibility with slavery and Christianity - they taught that it was part of a greater social order given to men by God. The Church of England was the Established Church in the American Colonies, and as the monarch was supreme head of the Church, theoretically all his subjects belonged to the Church. The Established Church believed it had the responsibility to provide stability in a new and developing land with little social cohesion and no established structures for social growth. It provided three important functions - a means of transforming geographically scattered farms into a community; a means of explaining the traumas and experiences of life; and a uniformity in basic values and behaviour throughout the colonies. Hence religious dissent was looked upon not as a mere difference of opinion, but as a challenge to authority and therefore a disruption of community. Dissenters, whether intentionally or not, were making a political statement by their very presence, and both slave owners and the SPG recognised the danger of their influence on the slaves.[62]

The most renowned preachers of the first Great Awakening were George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards. George Whitefield, the Calvinist Anglican, used the dissenting means of itinerancy to proclaim an evangelical Christianity.

On visiting Charlestown, where a large number of slaves lived, he wrote:

> A glorious work has begun in the hearts of the inhabitants, and many were brought to cry out, What must I do to be saved? ...I cannot tell you how many have come to me labouring under the deepest convictions, and seemingly truly desirous of finding rest in Christ. Several have actually received him into their hearts by faith, and have not only righteousness and peace but joy in the Holy Ghost. In short the word has run and been much glorified, and many negroes are also in a fair way of being brought home to God. Young ones I intend to buy, and do not despair of seeing a room full of that despised generation, in a short time, singing and making melody with grace in their hearts unto the Lord.[63]

Jonathan Edwards, "the American theologian who stands at the headwaters of Evangelicalism",[64] preached the necessity of conversion, witnessed a revival in his home

town of Northampton and published an analysis of it.[65] Both black and white were affected by Whitefield's and Edwards' preaching.

After the first Great Awakening, Presbyterianism in the South divided into the Old and the New Lights. The smaller Congregational group divided likewise into those who were in support of the emotional enthusiastic Christianity and those who held to the traditions of the past. They became known as the New and Old Sides. The New Lights preached a gospel that called for repentance from sin in a conversion experience by which a person would know that he was indeed saved. They taught that conversion would be preceded by a period of conviction during which time a person could dwell on his sinful nature before a holy God. The New Lights claimed that they could tell whether a minister had experienced conversion or not simply by listening to him preach or pray, and as the call to preach came from an inward call from God, those who were not converted were bogus ministers. Geweher, in his analysis of the second Great Awakening in Virginia, cites a letter from Parson Henry of St Paul's, Hanover, Virginia, that illustrates the preaching and teaching of the New Lights:

> Both people and preachers are great boasters of their assurance of salvation. They are so full of it here that the greatest number of those who have lately left the Church and followed those Enthusiastick preachers do confidently assert that they are as sure of going to Heaven at last, as if they were there already.[66]

It was their preaching of terror, their emphasis on experiences and the accompanying manifestations, their doctrines of definite witness to the spirit of conversion, their intolerance of non-evangelical ministers of the Established Church, their assertions against unconverted ministers which characterised the New Lights in the South and drew others to them.[67] Accompanying the New Lights came the Baptists with a similar message and a revolutionary attitude to ecclesiastical authority. They claimed that authority came from God alone, they ignored the Act of Toleration by refusing to licence many of their meeting houses.[68]

Baptist pastors preached in large areas to both black and white, and it was with the Baptists that the Evangelical movement in the south "took on momentum and with an explosive and frightening clarity gave notice of a major revolution".[69] The Baptists denied the need for education as a prerequisite for ordination, they denied the authority of the British Crown to dictate in matters religious, and they insisted on a personal conversion which was sudden and often dramatic, to prove its authenticity. Baptist congregations met together not only as a church but as a strong tightly knit community where regular scrutiny of the public and the private life of each Christian took place. The Baptists provided a complete social organisation. They were innovative and introduced specific rites, taken from scriptural example, alongside the traditional Protestant rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The first of these was the laying on of hands to pass on authority, and anointing with oil all those who were ill; second there was the love feast, a shared meal during which testimony was given of God's goodness in their lives, Methodists and Moravians used the love feast as a means of engendering close community and celebrating the unity of Christians in Christ; and thirdly there were the acts of community - washing each others feet, giving one another a holy kiss, etc.[70]

The Baptists remained the most powerful church community until the Methodists swept into the south in the 1770s and attracted many of the slave and white population. With their large circuits, itinerant ministers preaching in barns and houses and in the open air, and with their regular organisation of weekly class meetings the Methodists attracted large numbers.[71] "The genius of the developing system was its utilisation of laymen as class leaders, lay preachers and exhorters".[72] Methodism was free from the doctrinal stipulations of membership that controlled the Baptists and the New Lights. Anyone could become a Methodist by joining the class meetings. The only condition for entry to the Methodist classes was to be a true seeker after the Christian experience and to possess a true desire to be saved from sin. As evidence of their desire certain rules of conduct were looked for in members, as was avoidance of certain practices. But there was no doctrinal or dogmatic requirements for

admission. Wesley's emphasis on the universality of the Christian message was revolutionary in its appeal to the white and black southerners.[73]

Methodists and the Baptist churches were also revolutionary in providing intimate communities for those who saw themselves on the fringes of society. They created new standards of social activity and participation for whites and blacks; they provided a value system for the converts to raise them in their own esteem and in the esteem of others. Baptist practice was anticlerical in its condemnation of all ministers who had not "true religion". Methodism was essentially a lay movement, initially within the established church. Both systems appeared to cut across traditional clerical authority and elevate the believer.

There were appearances of:

> conviction and conversion of sinners and great revivings, quickenings and comforts of professors, and for extraordinary external effects of these things. It was a very frequent thing to see a house full of outcries, faintings and convulsions.[74]

Evangelicalism in the South demanded a conversion that did not depend on ministerial activity, nor on assenting to the strict doctrines of the Established Church but in believing in Christ for salvation. Emphasis was placed on the fact that every one could enter a new life; there were no restrictions on colour or age or sex. Evangelical conversion rejected the distinctions made by the world of wealth and nationality and family and turned upside down the whole concept of an aristocracy, in its claim to liberty and equality. The evangelicalism of the South, by proclaiming a gospel of equality where God treated rich and poor, proud and lowly in the same manner challenged the traditional perception of the Divine Order of things. While Evangelicals in Britain were carefully stressing that their religious convictions made them better citizens, more loyal and more concerned to better the morality of society, evangelicalism in the colonies captured the spirit of freedom and challenged tradition.

A F Walls has noted that space was the great contributing factor to the growth of American Christianity. Just as time effected the particular appearance of European Christianity the wide frontiers allowed a certain perception of society, and the place and role of religion within that society to develop.[75]

The communities that Methodism provided offered an alternative social setting, and while black and white were often segregated within the meeting places, there was the conviction that all were acceptable to God because of their experience.

Methodism in the South set the standards by which the black Methodists who eventually came to Sierra Leone functioned. These black Methodists were liberated through their conversion into the Methodist community. Whatever their status, whether slave or free man, Methodism and the Baptist teaching had shattered the view that as blacks they were inferior before God. Evangelical teaching had raised them to a new position in the community of Christians of which they were members. Evangelical teaching had also carried out a sharp segregation of the world of the devil and the world of God. After their conversion they believed they were no longer under the authority of the world of the devil. They claimed their new allegiance to God in prayers and hymns and in new lifestyles that rejected as worldly things such as drinking alcohol, playing cards and dancing, things that were associated with their white slave masters. It was not an escapist theology that the early black slaves held to, their convictions of equality gave them the strength to react, and in the example of the black loyalists in Nova Scotia and more significantly in Sierra Leone we see the effect of the power of conversion.[76]

Raboteau in his analysis of slave religion has pointed out the effects of the Awakening and the evangelical teaching:

> By heavily emphasising the inward conversion experience, the Awakening tended to de-emphasise the outward status of men, and to cause black and white alike to feel personally that Christ had died for them as individuals. Evangelical religion had a universalistic dimension which encouraged preaching to all men, embracing rich and poor, free and slave.[77]

The black slaves adapted one essential element of the evangelical tradition - the element of original sin and the doctrine of judgement. They did not dispense with either. Indeed the doctrine of judgment was essential in their understanding of the place of the slave holders and the reasons why God was allowing them to continue in their wicked ways. The period of conviction, so important in Evangelical conversion, had arisen from a need to spend time aware of one's own sinfulness in the face of a holy God and the period was one of depression and tension. A new emphasis was placed on seeking during this period. Rather than dwelling on one's sin, the black slaves tended to see this period as one of searching and seeking.[78]

Raboteau quotes the experience of Charles Stearns preaching to a congregation of freedmen. When he began to talk about the sins of lying and thieving many of the congregation walked out complaining that they had come to have a "good Heavenly time on Sunday worshipping the God we all love and adore". Stearns noted that they were more concerned about God's acceptance of them than about the sins they had committed.[79] Raboteau questioned this interpretation believing that Stearns had failed to recognise that the freedmen's distaste for moralistic preaching was directly rooted in their experience of the dichotomy between Christianity and the practice of Christian slave holders. However, Stearns' analysis of the situation was more astute, the miracle for the black population was their unconditional acceptance by God. It was this that gave them their authority in their Christian life and conditioned all they thought and did. Raboteau fails to appreciate the degree to which this was important. It was not simply that they objected to the slaveholders' morality, as they did; the whole doctrine of sin took a secondary place in their perception of Christianity. Throughout the century in Sierra Leone there are constant complaints from the missionaries that the settlers and the recaptives following them, seem not to have a concept of sin or reject it if they have.

Evangelical religion met the white and black Southerners where they were and shaped their beliefs and understanding of Christianity in the context of plantations, fields, small holdings or peasant existence.

It was the remnants of the American revivalist preaching that surfaced again in Sierra Leone. The pattern of conversion that the revival had presented - seeking and groaning after God, followed by an intense experience of forgiveness and a new joy and happiness that caused the convert to shout and "give glory" - remained long after the initial impetus of the revival died down. The liberty that was found in the belief in equality and the assurance that all were chosen of God and precious dictated the attitude of the black settlers. Their experiences were critical to their understanding of Christianity in Sierra Leone. The Evangelical movement had captured the dreams of all those discontented and dissatisfied with conventional society, and at odds with the social system. It had given them a place within a new society and the compassion and care that was needed to ensure stability and self confidence.

6. The Form of Nova Scotian Christianity

The Black Loyalists arrived into a religiously disorientated Nova Scotia. The 1759 proclamation by the Governor of Nova Scotia, Lawrence, known as "The Charter of Nova Scotia" had declared:

> Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, whether they be Calvinists, Lutherans, Quakers, or under what denomination soever, shall have free liberty of conscience, and may erect and build Meeting Houses for public worship, and may choose and elect Ministers for the carrying on of Divine Service and administration of the Sacrament according to their several opinions.[80]

Thousands, assured of their religious freedom flocked in from New England during the following years, bringing with them their particular brands of evangelical religion. Most were remnants of the great Awakening in New England when George Whitefield spread his revivalistic message among many who were dissatisfied with the poverty, the insecurity of land and money and the bitter class divisions that segregated the

governing and commercial groups from the lower classes in whose debt they were. Whitefield's preaching had not only called for conviction of sin and conversion to a new life in Christ, but it denounced all those who were falsely representing the truth of the gospel. Unconverted ministers were attacked for their hypocrisy. The scene was set and the criticism was planted. Revival meetings were set up, churches were abandoned, and the New Lights became a powerful group. The New Lights were marked by behaviour that was in excess of anything previously found in the churches of New England. Conversion was accompanied by screams and groans, many fitted and fell to the ground, there were accounts of visions and trances and sights of Heaven and Hell and their occupants. Attempts were made to curb the outbreak, acts were passed making it a penal offence for any one to preach without a license.[81] In May 1743 the General Assembly in Connecticut "resolved that those commonly called Presbyterians or Congregationalists should not take the benefit" of the toleration Act of 1708, known officially as the "The Act for the Relief of Sober Consciences". So while Baptist, Episcopal and Quaker organisations were free to conduct worship, Congregationalists must attend the ministry of constituted churches. As Armstrong notes in the wake of such a decision "the spirit of separatism spread like wildfire throughout the province".[82]

Membership jumped mostly as those who felt themselves socially oppressed joined in protest. Anarchy and confusion reigned among the groups. While they remained theologically strict Calvinists, the groups had little if any adherence to order and discipline. What was seen as important was how they felt about their religious experiences, and their feelings controlled their actions. They were convinced that if they did not feel a minister's preaching, if they were not agitated by what he said, and if their heart did not respond, then the minister was not a true child of God. They rejected human learning, associating it with the politics of the Established Church. They believed that theirs was the way to knowledge and that they knew by the Spirit the things of God.

When the opportunity to leave New England and travel to a place where religious tolerance, as well as land, were the order to the day many left. By this stage the fire of religious enthusiasm was dwindling, but it remained sufficiently alight to affect, and to be affected by, the religious life of Nova Scotia. An account written about the situation in Nova Scotia just before the American Revolution captures the scene:

> I found that the inhabitants of this province, collected from different parts of New England and of the parent country, brought their local prejudices with them, and did not readily associate in regular, permanent religious societies. ...I became acquainted with fanaticism in various shapes and forms.[83]

Nova Scotians remained relatively immune from the war, the settlers were too poor, the population was scattered, and government remained in the hands of a few, strong efficient officials. Opportunity for rebellion was limited, enthusiasm to rebel was scarce. It was into this socially unstable but superficially loyalist land that Henry Alline arrived with his dramatic New Light message that was to give new meaning to the barren, grim lives of many. His message and style revived the smouldering enthusiasm of past days and issued in the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia.

Alline, a congregationalist preacher from Rhode Island, arrived in Nova Scotia in 1776 and refusing to align himself with any one denomination he established his own gathering of New Lights.[84] The New Lights echoed the southern Methodist distaste of Anglicanism and denied the state the right to interfere in matters religious. Their message shook Nova Scotia, injecting fear into the Anglican churches. Alline turned the country upside down, congregations split, new churches grew up, and membership of the Established Church declined. Alline's theology, and its affect on the incoming Black Loyalists will be examined in the following chapter.

It was this message that was to influence the Black Loyalists arriving into Nova Scotia. Vulnerable, anxious to start a new life and fearing that their old slave masters might still order their return, the loyalists had only their religious beliefs with which to make sense of the great trauma they had undergone. Here in Nova Scotia they met others

who sought to find the truth of God in the outworking of His Holy Spirit in their lives. They quickly adapted to the Nova Scotian New Light experience, and both together stood against the Established Church and the hypocrisy they believed they saw in it.

The expression of Christianity that emerged in America, then among the Nova Scotians and in Sierra Leone was of a particular type. Earlier observers in Sierra Leone believed that the abnormal behaviour, the shouts and screams, the cries for mercy, the faints and fits, and the dramatic prayer meetings were the result of a basic ignorance of the things of God, and such things would fade away with proper Church teaching. The question that a modern critic examining the form of Christianity in Sierra Leone must ask is, was the Christianity a particular form of Black, or African Christianity, or was it a particular feature of a certain expression of evangelical revivalist Christianity? What were its origins, were the missionaries right or can one go beyond such a comment to find a more significant reasoning for the behaviour of the first Christian Church in tropical Africa.

i. The Herskovits - Frazier debate

In the last three decades questions have been raised over the manner and the means by which black slaves and freedmen in the American South experienced Christianity, and over their ongoing presentation of their beliefs. The enthusiasm that was so noted among the black Southerners in their religious activity appeared reminiscent of African traditional religious activity. Was the enthusiasm a result of their African heritage or a result of their experiences of evangelical religion in the South? In Latin America the evidence points clearly to African influence, but the situation is not so clear among the blacks in North America. The debate has taken on wider lines in the arguments of Melville Herskovits and Franklin Frazier representing two opposing schools of thought. For our purpose we will centre on the religious question.[85] Herskovits attempted in his most famous work, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, to demonstrate that the negro had a past in Africa, that religion was not

destroyed in the Atlantic crossing and that it was influential and relevant in the negroes present circumstances. He argued "in religious practices reasonable indications of revamped survivals of African traditions are not lacking."[86]

Frazier opposed Herskovits, stating that "American slavery destroyed household gods and dissolved the bonds of sympathy and affection between men of the same blood and household."[87] He believed that African traditions did not take root in the United States partly because of the actual process of enslavement. Plantations in the US were on the whole much smaller than those in Latin America and so acculturation took place more quickly, with the passing of the earlier generations who were familiar with their African roots, blacks lost their contact with Africa. Deculturation, he argued, began on capturing. Genovese, producing one of the most comprehensive discussions of the American black in his work, *Roll Jordan Roll*, asserts that:

> The combination of hostile white power, small plantation and farm units and the early closing of the slave trade crushed much of the specific African religious memory.[88]

Raboteau adopts a position of compromise between the two lines of debate seeing the influence of African culture in the context of enculteration:

> While it is true that Africa influenced black culture in the United States, including black religion, it is also true that African theology and African ritual did not endure to the extent that they did in Cuba, Haiti, and in Brazil. In the United States the gods of Africa died.[89]

The issue in question was over the revival phenomena or ecstatic behaviour in black Christianity. Herskovits saw such behaviour as demonstrably African in content. He argued that the violent possession characteristic of West African religion was directly translated into the slaves' religious experiences, and he reasoned that the popularity of the Baptist churches was due to their rite of baptism. This rite was directly related to the river priest cult in Dahomey.[90] At baptism "a possession hysteria develops that

in its outward appearance, at least, is almost indistinguishable from the possession brought on by the African water deities".[91]

Roger Bastide saw the emotional aspects of the blacks' religious expressions as the result of the revival:

> In the USA, it is true, the Negro has preserved no trace of his ancestral religion in his quest for violent emotionalism, for one sort of affective faith, he has borrowed wholesale from North American revivalism - itself a continuation of Scottish revivalism.[92]

He concludes, however, that the difference between revival expressions in Scotland - visions, voices, and sensory automatisms, and the expressions in America - beating of hands, rhythmic body movements, indicates the influence of the black population on revivalism. It was their specific contribution.

A compromise position between the different debates is called for. From our brief sketch of the effects of Evangelical religion in America it becomes clear that the drama of conversion and the emotional outbursts of worship were as much the property of the white as the black Southerner. The common denominator affecting the particular patterns of behaviour seems to be social status rather than colour. Revivalism was at home among the socially insecure and oppressed. The message of equality that was so essential in conversion made most sense to those who felt they were not treated as equals, both white and black. The freedom of worship, that allowed for lay participation, and despised ministers who were not converted, appealed most to those who were outside of the established Church or felt they had no part to play in it.

The African culture of the slaves was not obliterated, nor was the slate wiped clean. The social basis of African religions had been removed and the religions had disintegrated as coherent systems of beliefs, but their underlying world views were not destroyed and it was into their world views that Christianity was absorbed. The

contribution of the black population of the South to evangelical theology was in their acceptance of it. The black population of the South accepted evangelical Christianity and in doing so gave it credence.

7. Sierra Leone - The Proof of Christendom

The Missionary movement was the last flourish of Christendom, the territorial idea of Christianity with an implied relationship with the State. The missionaries, and the Colonial Government, had established the pattern for the extension of Christendom into Sierra Leone, and Sierra Leone was henceforth judged on whether or not it produced the signs of a civilised Christianised nation. The recaptives who arrived into the Colony attended the schools and churches, they became involved in the community as school teachers, clerks, traders, some trained as lawyers and doctors, others became catechists and lay readers. A new educated elite emerged, and in its emergence the CMS and its churches enjoyed a period of prosperity. Church attendance became a social affair, membership of the church was important, providing marriage and burial rites.

i. The Native Pastorate

Sierra Leone continued a testing ground for the missionary organisations. It had offered the proof that Africans were capable of producing an evangelical Christianity and the Colonial Government, working alongside the Societies, had proved that Africans could be educated and civilised. The question of whether Sierra Leone could sustain a Church without the assistance of the missionary societies became the next major issue in the life of the young Colony:

> A Native African Church, under a Native Ministry, would exhibit to the world the noblest triumph of British philanthropy.[93]

Venn, the Secretary of the CMS during the middle years of the century, aimed towards the creation of a self governing, self propagating, self financing church. Venn's concept of a self governing church was not a new one that went against all the previous ideas and perceptions of Victorian missionary policy. Peter Williams has adequately shown that there was an acute awareness of the dangers of Europeanisation in Victorian England and the ideal of an indigenous church was sought by most Protestant and Catholic missionary thinkers. Venn's ideal, an independent "native" church with an indigenous episcopate separate from the CMS, was given a structure in his plans for the Native Pastorate in Sierra Leone. "I have great trust in the African heart", he wrote[94] and his trust convinced him of the ability and right of the Sierra Leonean to rule his own church affairs.

With enthusiasm "native catechists" were given responsibility within the churches, with dedication Sierra Leoneans were trained at Fourah Bay Institution, and at the Wesleyan College, to become ministers of the CMS and the Methodist churches; but ultimately control remained in Britain. Venn drew up "articles by arrangement" designed to create a "native" Church independent from the CMS. Their objective was to establish a branch of the Anglican Church in Sierra Leone. He recognised that the situation was such that native pastors were seen as representatives of a foreign society on which the whole life of the congregations seemed to depend. Venn suggested that Christians should be organised into Christian companies under a Christian headman and that these small congregations would be able to support their headman, thus removing the financial dependence on the CMS. Then, as a number of these congregations joined together, Native Pastorates would be formed, with pastors paid from a Native Pastorate Fund to which all would contribute. When a number of Native Pastorates were in existence they would meet together in a district conference where lay and ordained representatives of the congregations and members of the CMS would discuss Church affairs. The end result of his policies was that Europeans would become redundant and a sufficiently strong network of "native" organisation would be laid down to enable a smooth transition.[95]

In Sierra Leone Venn's proposals were modified and on All Saints Day 1861 a number of CMS churches joined together under a Council and Bishop to form a Native Pastorate. 1861 was a turning point in the history of Christianity in the Colony. For almost seventy years various Christian groups had worked initially to establish their religious beliefs and traditions in a strange environment and among a very diverse and unsettled, displaced people and then, as Sierra Leone became their home, to propagate their faith through missions and trade up country and further along the coast. The creation of a Native Pastorate under the authority of a European Bishop was regarded as the pinnacle of the missionary endeavours of the CMS in the Colony.

But Sierra Leone is significant in that it provided the physical proof of the ideal, in the formation of the Native Pastorate. The events in Sierra Leone caused Venn, in a radical move, to advocate the alternative of a separate Church for "native" Christians. As early as the 1850s when proposals were being forwarded for an indigenous church, and the death of three bishops in quick succession seemed to indicate that an African bishop was preferable in Sierra Leone, Venn refused to nominate the obvious candidate for bishop, the Rev. Samuel Crowther. He argued, along with Crowther, that Crowther's work should be among his own people, the Yoruba, rather than in Sierra Leone.

Venn believed Sierra Leone to be too much an English Colony. His analysis changed the face of religious life in Sierra Leone. He had recognised the problem that European missionaries had with their African co-workers, their refusal to be under the superintendence of any native. He read the situation correctly as events in the Niger Delta were to prove in later years. The Native Pastorate however, controlled by a European rather than an African Bishop, deeply affected the growth of an indigenous Sierra Leone Christianity and caused the Colony to move further in the direction of a tiny England on the West Coast of Africa. The question must be asked, did Venn's plans, in the end, go some way towards destroying rather than creating his long term ideal of an established native Christian society?

Paul Hair has noted:

> It is not only the history of Freetown Christianity which interests, or should interest, students of Africa, but the shape of Freetown Christianity.[96]

The shape of Freetown Christianity proved a challenge to the missionaries who worked in Sierra Leone, and indicated that while Sierra Leone may have appeared, and did appear, a model of missionary activity its particular shape owed a debt to the first evangelists in the Colony, those 1,100 Nova Scotians. Those who came into the Colony from the slave ships appeared to accept the identity that was offered to them with its packaging of European civilisation and European church life. But Krio Christianity was more African than many realised. Sierra Leone was the first Christian community in tropical Africa to reconcile African life to Christian values. The early recaptives did so, often adopting the pattern of response of the Nova Scotians. As the Nova Scotians dwindled and the recaptive body increased in size and influence it was the recaptives themselves who formulated their own reconciliation of two traditions and interpreted their Christian beliefs into a world view that was theirs. The recaptive contribution, like the Nova Scotian contribution, to the shape of African Christianity cannot be ignored. Recaptives were the first to take on board the task of identifying the place of the community of all believers in their own community and in responding to the universal God in their own homes.

By 1861 the recaptives had provided evidence that a mass movement towards Christianity was possible, that through education and preaching Christianity could be introduced. They had become the largest group in the Colony overwhelming the dwindling numbers of Nova Scotians and Maroons. The recaptives provided proof that Africans were capable of producing a civilised society and participating in that society. They proved that they were academically and spiritually the equal of the European, indeed in Sierra Leone itself they, and not the Europeans, provided the proof of the benefits of Christian Society. Not a white face was to be seen in the

Freetown churches, apart perhaps from the odd Methodist lay preacher; Europeans were drinking in the club houses while the Sierra Leonean was worshipping God.[97]

The recaptives, and the recaptives' children showed to all the Christian world the importance of their beliefs when they travelled throughout West Africa telling their country people of God, setting up small Christian communities wherever they based themselves and keeping the Sabbath Day holy. Sierra Leone proved to be a beacon of light in Africa. Christianity in Sierra Leone owed a debt to the philanthropists who had sacrificed their money and had put their humanitarian beliefs on the political stake when they condemned the slave trade. It owed a debt to the many British and German men and women who lived and died in the service of their missionary Societies, but it owed its vitality and enthusiasm, and its original accessibility to the 1,100 Black loyalists.

FOOTNOTES

1 A F Walls, 'A Christian Experiment: The Early Sierra Leone Colony', in *Studies in Church History*, vol 6, 'The Mission of the Church and the Propagaton of the Faith', G J Cuming (ed), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp 107-129.

2 For an analysis of some of these new and local forms see, D B Barret, *Schism and renewal in Africa: an analysis of six thousand religious movements*, Nairobi, 1968. Harold Turner, *Bibliography of New Religious Movements*, vol 1, *Black Africa*, G K Hall, Boston, 1977 and *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements*, G K Hall, Boston, 1979.

3 *Report of the Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions*, London, 1888, vol 2, p 342.

4 On the Clapham Sect see, Ernest Marshall Howse, *Saints in Politics*; *The Clapham Sect and the growth of Freedom*, London, 1953, and Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: the Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, London, 1976. For more information on some of the members of, and those connected with, the Clapham Sect, see Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, London, 1900. On Granville Sharp see the early work by Prince Hoare, *Memoir of Granville Sharp*, London, 1820. F O Shyllon's work, *Black Slaves in Britain*, London, 1973, particularly his analysis of the Lord Mansfield trial in 1772, the Somerset Case, with which Granville Sharp was so involved. On Thomas Clarkson, see the biography by Earl Leslie Griggs, *Thomas Clarkson - The Friend of Slaves*, London, 1936 and on Henry Thornton, see S Meacham *Henry Thornton of Clapham*, Cambridge, 1964.

5 Granville Sharp, *A Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations (until better shall be proposed) for the intended Settlement on the Grain Coast of Africa near Sierra Leone*, London, 1786. Henry Smeathman, a botanist, had originally proposed the idea of a settlement on the West Coast of Africa where black and white could live and prosper together, "In short, if a community of 2 or 300 persons were to be associated on such principles as constitute the prosperity of civilised nations, such are the fertility of the soil, and the value of its products, and the advantage of such and establishment, that it must, with the blessing of the Almighty, increase with a rapidity beyond all example, and in all probability extend its saving influence in 30 or 40 years, wider then ever American Independence". Smeathman to Knowles, 21 July 1783, *New Jerusalem Magazine*, 1, 1790, p 293, cited in Philip Curtin, *Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850*, London, 1965, p 97. Smeathman's scheme was published as *Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leone*, London, 1786. Sharp adopted the idea and developed it. On the early schemes of taxation see N A Cox George, 'Direct taxation in the Early History of Sierra Leone', in *Sierra Leone Studies*, n.s., December 1955, no 5, pp 20-35. Carl Berns Wadstrom, a Swedish explorer and engineer, enthused with the religious beliefs of Swedenborg, approached Granville Sharp in the hope of amalgamating his plans for a community of Swedenborgians on the West Coast of Africa with the Province of Freedom. Plans went askew and Wadstrom took his ideas elsewhere. See his work, *An Essay on Colonisation, particularly applied to the Western Coast of Africa*, 2 vols, London, 1794 and 1795.

6 For the early history of the colony see, C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, London, 1962. J Peterson, *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone 1787-1870*, London, 1969. P Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850*, London, 1965. Stiv Jakobsson, *Am I not a man and a brother. British missions and the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in West Africa*, New York, 1977.

7 Sharp published anonymously the document for his proposal for the St George's Bay Company, *Free English Territory in Africa*. This document advocated the potentially profitable market to be found on the West Coast of Africa, but was careful to point out that the Company was to be formed at the settler's request and for their benefit. C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 25.

8 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 27.

9 The Petition of Thomas Peters, CO 217/63, fol 63. C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, London, 1964, p 118.

10 Abbé Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of Europeans in the East and West Indies*, London, first published 1770, Book 11, vol v, p 299, translated by J O Justamond, 1783. Cited, R Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810*, London, MacMillan, 1970, p 12.

11 R Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810*, London, MacMillan, 1970, p 96. Paley in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, condemned slavery as an "obligation to labour which did not involve contract or consent, it was, as a result, merciless and tyrannical." Cited in Anstey, *op cit*, p 96.

12 Granville Sharp, so instrumental in the foundation of the Colony, had published numerous pamphlets against slavery, e.g. *Just Limitations of Slavery in the Laws of God*, London, 1776.

See also E R Norman, *Church and Society in England 1770-1970*, Oxford, 1976, pp 26-29. Norman discusses the implications of opposing slavery particularly the involvement in the violation of property rights. Those who owned slaves had a legal property in the persons of their slaves.

13 Even though the Colony's economy had effectively collapsed it propagated itself because of what it stood for, the abolition of slavery.

14 G G M Nicol, *An Essay on Sierra Leone*, 1881, pp 7-9. Cited in C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, pp 213-4.

15 T F Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, London, 1840. See Charles Buxton (ed), *Memoirs of Sir T F Buxton, Baronet, with selections from his correspondence*, London, 1850. On the expedition, see Capt W Allen and T R H Thompson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the Niger River in 1841*, 2 vols, London, 1848, and J F Schön and S Crowther, *Journals of an Expedition up the Niger in 1841*, London, 1843. J F A Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841 - 1891 The making of a new Elite*, introduces the Niger expedition, p 9-23. J Gallagher has an interesting analysis of Buxton's policies in 'Thomas Fowell Buxton and the New African Policy', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol XI, 1950.

16 *Letters of Charles Dickens*, edited by W Dexter, ii, p 401. Cited, E Jay, *The Religion of the Heart*, Oxford, 1979, p 171. Mrs Jellaby appears in Dicken's novel, *Bleak House*.

17 E Hodder, *Life of Shaftesbury*, ii, 417. Cited, E Jay, *op cit*, p 172. See Jay's section on 'Missionary and Philanthropic Endeavour', pp 169-179.

18 On the Evangelical revival in Britain and the reasons why it should have emerged in the 18th century, see David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. J Walsh, 'Origins of the English Evangelical Revival', in G D Bennet and J D Walsh, *Essays in Modern Church History*, London, 1966. W R Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790-1850*, treats the effects of the early revival

on English society. N Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth century*, Cambridge, 1934.

19 David Bebbington, *op cit*, pp 5-17.

20 *A Short Account of God's dealings with the Rev G Whitefield*, 1740. For an account of his conversion, see pp 37-39. George Whitefield wrote of his conversion, "A ray of Divine light was instantaneously darted in upon my soul". R Philip, *The Life and Times of the Reverend George Whitefield*, 1837, p 16-7.

21 W B Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion*, London, 1926, p 191.

22 *Memoirs of the Rev John Newton with selections from his Correspondence*, 2nd ed, 1843.

23 *The Confession of Faith*, Edinburgh, 1810, chapter 18/3, p 106.

24 Peter Bohler had taught that no man could have peace with God without knowing it. See, A S Yates, *The Doctrine of Assurance with Special reference to John Wesley*, London, 1952. Rupp has traced the doctrine of assurance within the Puritan tradition. The Puritans held that assurance was not a common occurrence and often came late in the life of believers. G Rupp, *Religion in England*, 1688-1791, Oxford, 1986. See also David Bebbington's section on 'Assurance' in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp 42-50 and the work of M C Bell, *Calvin and Scottish Theology: The Doctrine of Assurance*, Edinburgh, 1985, pp 45ff.

25 Wesley to Maxfield in T Coke and H Moore, *The Life of the Rev John Wesley, AM*, London, 1792, p 337. Cited, Bebbington, *op cit*, p 52.

26 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690.

27 Peter Browne, *The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding*, 1728.

28 A R Winnett, *Peter Browne: Provost, Bishop, Metaphysician*, London, 1974. Cited, Bebbington, *op cit*, p 49.

29 Bebbington, *op cit*, p 50.

30 *Ibid*.

31 *The Works of John Wesley*, vol XIX, 1773, p 282ff. 'Treatise on Baptism', 1756.

32 G Whitefield, *Sermons*, (edition of 1825), Sermon 62, p 61.

33 J H Pratt (ed), *The Thought of the Evangelical Leaders: Notes on the Discussions of The Eclectic Society, London, during the years 1798-1814*, 2nd ed, 1865, pp 376-77, 16 December 1805.

34 W Carus, *Memoirs of the life of the Rev Charles Simeon with selections from his writings and correspondence*, 2nd ed, London, 1847, pp 542-547.

35 A M Wilberforce (ed), *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, 1897, p 242.

36 J Edwards, 'A Narrative of Surprising Conversions', *Select Works*, vol 1, London, 1965, p 47.

37 *Ibid*.

38 E Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, London, 1888, p 519.

39 William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathens*, 1792.

40 J A de Jong, *As the Waters cover the sea. Millennial expectations in the use of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810*, Kampen, 1970.

41 Thomas Scott, *The Force of Truth*, ed 1984, d.n., p 65. Cited, Bebbington, *op cit*, p 15.

42 Henry Venn, *The Complete Duty of Man*. Cited, Bebbington, *op cit*, p 13.

43 H Moore, *An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World*, new edition, 1808, p 307.

44 Wilberforce established the issues of evangelical living in his book, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious system of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country contrasted with real Christianity*, London, 1797. The evangelical provided proof of the reality of his calling through his life. Wilberforce had written his *Practical View* for those 'who belong to the class of Orthodox Christians and not for absolute infidels and atheists'. Ian Bradley, *op cit*, p 51. It was his actions that demonstrated his salvation.

45 G Russell, *A Memoir of Lady Victoria Buxton*, London, 1919, p 227.

46 John Wesley, 'A Plain Account of Christian perfection', in F. Whaling (ed), *John and Charles Wesley: The Classics of Western Spirituality*, London, 1981, p 297-377.

47 W Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire*, abridged by J H Barker, London, Epworth Press, 1956.

48 Edmund Burke, *Reflections of the Revolution in France*, London, J Dodsley, 4th edition, 1790.

49 Charles Simeon preached again and again against the notion that observance of external duties and forms had any salvific effects. *Horae Sermon*, 584 'Spiritual Obedience preferred before sacrifice', vol 5, 381-2. Cited, John Bennet, *Charles Simeon and the Evangelical Anglican Missionary Movement: A Study of Voluntaryism and Church Missionary Tensions*, Unpublished PhD, Edinburgh University, 1992, p 69.

50 E.g. the execution of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow for their allegedly seditious writings which appeared incompatible with the notion of a National Church. B R White, *The English Separatist Tradition from the Marian Martyrs to the Pilgrim Fathers*, London, 1971, pp 86-90.

51 I B Horst, *The Radical Brethren Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558*, Nieuwkoop, 1972. M R Watts, *The Dissenters from the reformation to the French Revolution*, Oxford, 1978, pp 188-90.

52 C J Abbey and J H Overton, *The English Church in the 18th Century*, [n.e.], London, 1887, 2 vols, vol 1, p 220ff.

53 Deryck W Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent 1780-1830*, Cambridge, 1988.

54 G F A Best, 'The evangelicals and the Established Church in the early nineteenth century', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 10, n.s., 1959, 69-70.

55 Lovegrove, *op cit*, p 131, notes that in effect the 'threat to the Establishment came not so much from overt political action as from the more subtle social and religious changes encouraged by popular preaching'.

56 Johannes van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus Love. An Enquiry into the motives of the missionary awakening in Great Britain in the period 1698-1815*, Kampen, 1956, p 134.

57 A F Walls, 'Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church', *Evangelical Quarterly*, 88, 1988, pp 141-155, p 150. Walls points out that the laity associated with the Society were far better known than any of the clergy who actually met together to form the CMS.

58 C Hole, *The Early History of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East to the end of AD 1814*, London, 1896, Appendix C, pp 651-3.

59 *Ibid*.

60 John Bennet, *op cit*, p 239.

Evangelicals believed that society in Britain would be reflected in British Colonies abroad. They believed that Heathen Societies would experience radical social and religious change as a result of the evangelical conversion of the people. Simeon held that a non Christian society could not fail to recognise the benefits of a Christian society and would as a consequence readily give up their false religion. Bennet, *op cit*, p 207.

On the CMS use of Lutheran candidates see the Sub Committee report of meeting with Dr. Steinkopf, 12 February 1802, in *CMS Committee Minutes*, vol 1, p 64. The CMS accepted the ordination of the Lutheran Clergy as valid though the sub-Committee reported saying 'in some instances they have been rather wished to submit to re-ordination here, previous to their being sent out as foreign missionaries, and yet it is not known that any such re-ordination has ever taken place'. The SPCK, during the 18th century had made positive steps in cultivating good relations with the Lutherans, aided by the Royal Family connexion with Lutheranism. Lutheran congregations in London conformed to Anglican rites and traditions, wore Anglican clerical dress. See W O B Allen and E McClure's work on the SPCK, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1698-1898, London, 1898, for a discussion on the links between Continental Protestantism and the SPCK. When the CMS turned to the Lutheran churches for missionaries they were aware of the growing tension within the SPCK over the issue of the non episcopal ordained Lutherans. Hans Cnattinguis deals with the problems surrounding the issue of ordination in the Anglican Societies in his work, *Bishops and Societies*, London, 1952. See, W Jowett, *Memoir of the Rev. W.A.B. Johnson*, London, 1852.

61 Judith Fingard, *Anglican Design in Nova Scotia 1783-1816*, London, 1972.

62 D Matthews, *Religion in the Old South*, Chicago, 1977.

63 A Dallimore, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth Century Revival*, vol 1, London, 1970, Whitefield's journal, May 20, letter dated, New Brunswick, April 27. On the Great Awakening see, Sydney E Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, New York, 1972

There was considerable criticism of Whitefield's style of preaching yet despite the criticism hundreds turned out to hear what he had to say. A letter was published in the *Postboy* of June 23 in Philadelphia in an effort to discourage people from listening to his preaching:

> "Mr Whitefield and his adherent ministers have infatuated [the multitude] with the doctrines of regeneration, free grace, conversion after their peculiar way of thinking, as essential articles of salvation, though inconsistent with true religion, natural or revealed, subversive of all order and decency, and repugnant to common sense."

Letter preserved in the Old South Church Library, Philadelphia. Cited in J Pollock, *George Whitefield and the Great Awakening*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1973, p 60.

64 David Bebbington, *op cit*, p 10.

65 J Edwards, 'A Narrative of Surprising Conversions', 1737, in *Select Works*, vol 1, London, 1965.

66 Letter from Parson Henry of St Paul's Hanover to Dawson February 13, 1744/5 Dawson MSS in Library of Congress. Cited, W M Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia 1740-1790*, Durham, N.C. 1930, pp 59-60.

67 J Caldwell, *An Impartial Trial of the Spirit operating in this part of the world; by comparing the nature, effects and evidences, of the present supposed conversion with the work of God*, Boston, 1742. Gewehr points out that despite the raillery, the book contains a contemporary account of many of the practices of the New Lights, p 81.

68 The Act of Toleration of 1689 exempted dissenters from attending their parish churches provided they took the Oath of Allegiance, and declared against the Roman Catholic Doctrine of Transubstantiation. It also required all ministers to be properly licensed, to take the Oath of Allegiance, and to ensure that their places of worship were registered. The Act had the potential to destroy the efficiency of itinerant missionaries.

69 D Matthews, *op cit*, p 23.

70 *Ibid*, p 26.

71 W J Sasnett, 'Theory of Methodist Class Meetings', *Methodist Quarterly Review*, (s.o.), V, p 265.

72 D Matthews, *op cit*, p 30.

73 See for example the hymn of invitation and return to God

> Come, sinners to the Gospel feast;
> Let every soul be Jesu's quest,
> Ye need not one be left behind,
> For God hath bidden all mankind.

Methodist Hymnbook, London, Methodist Conference Office, 1933, Hymn No 23.

74 E S Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*, Harper, 1957, pp 57-58.

75 Bridenbaugh recognised that it was the great controversy over church and state that stimulated the growth of American Nationality.:

> The most "American" fact about the English colonies, aside from the huge natural environment, was their varied religious composition and ecclesiastical organisation, which figured far more in the lives of most of the inhabitants than government or politics, even of the local

variety.... Republicanism in church as much as in state was the form of polity congenial to these people.

C Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faith, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics 1689-1775*, New York, 1962, p 338. Ezra Stiles, the congregationalist minister in Newport wrote a tract entitled *A Discourse on the Christian Union: The Substance of which was delivered Before the Reverend Convention of the Congregational Clergy in the Colony of Rhode Island, Assembled at Bristol*, April 23, 1760, Boston 1761. Cited in C Bridenbaugh, *op cit*, p 10. In it he captured the spirit of American independence. He wrote, "Providence has planted the British America with a variety of sects, which will unavoidably become a mutual balance upon one another. Their temporary collisions, like the actions of acids and alcalies after a short ebullition, will subside in harmony and union, not in the destruction of either, but in the friendly cohabitation of all. ...The notion of erecting the polity of either sect into universal dominion to the destruction of the rest is but an airy vision - may serve to influence a temporary enthusiasm - but can never succede.", p 48.

76 Their Christianity was not an escapist religion, nor one that ensured they became submissive centring their goals in a future world. J B Boles, *The Great Revival 1787-1805*, Kentucky, 1972, has tried to show that Christianity took away all motivation to rebel or react against the slave masters, "One accepted his faith along with his position in life, the Southern Christian was taught to accept the world and perfect his soul.", p 195.

77 A J Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*, New York, 1978, p 148.

78 *Ibid*, p 86.

79 *Ibid*, p 300.

80 T C Haliburton, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1829, vol 1, p 220. M Armstrong notes that a copy of the original proclamation may be seen in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R I, M Armstrong, *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia 1776-1809*, Hartford, Connecticut, 1948, p 20.

81 Act for regulating Abuse and Correcting Disorders in ecclesiastical Affairs. This Act was passed by the General Court in Connecticut. Cited, M Armstrong, *op cit*, p 9.

82 *Ibid*, pp 10-17.

83 Aaron Bancroft, A Sermon delivered in Worcester, 31 January 1836, Worcester, 1836. Armstrong notes that Bancroft was a Harvard student approbated by the churches of New England to preach in Nova Scotia. Cited, M Armstrong, *op cit*, p 55.

84 George Rawlyk, 'New Light, Baptists and the Religious Awakening in Nova Scotia 1776-1843. A Preliminary Problem', *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, xxv, no 48, October 1983, pp 43-73.

85 There are sociological implications in Herskovits' work. He demonstrated his belief that the differences between negro and American culture were not the result of backwardness that would rectify itself in the great progression of time, but due to the negroes' retention of things African. F Frazier argued that the danger of Herskovits' work was that it implied that the negro could not assimilate. He was unhappy about the implications of such a theory on present black life in America.

86 M J Herskovits, *The New World Negro*, ed. F S Herskovits, Bloomington, 1966, p 174. Puckett held similar beliefs stating that 'there is an infinite difference between the Christianity of the North and the South, between that of the city and country, between that of whites and coloureds due in the main to their different mode of life and social background. N M Puckett, *Folk Beliefs in The Southern Negro*, London, 1926, p 545.

87 F Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Chicago, 1939, p 21.

88 E Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, New York, 1976, p 211.

89 A Raboteau, *op cit*, p 86.

90 The river priests, more than any other group of holy men, were sold into slavery during the conquest of the Dahomy kingdom. M Herskovits, *op cit*, p 232.

91 *Ibid*, p 233.

92 R Bastide, *African Civilisations in the New World*, New York, 1971, p 169.

93 CAI GA/A1/1, November 1851. Proposal for the endowment of a Bishop to Sierra Leone.

94 CA1/l7, p 192, 23 November 1861, Venn to Belcher.

95 CAI/G/A21/1, CMS Printed Circulars, no 116, *Minutes of the organisation of Native Churches in Missions*, 9 July 1861.

96 Paul Hair, 'Freetown Christianity and Africa', *SLBR*, vol 6, no 2, December 1964, pp 13-21, p 17.

97 A B C Sibthorpe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, 3rd ed, London, 1906, p 219-20.

CHAPTER ONE

The Black Loyalists

The action of declaring:

> ...all indented servants, Negroes, or others (appertaining to Rebels,) free... that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his Majesty's troups as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this colony to a proper sense of their duty, to his Majesty's crown and dignity.[1]

must qualify as one of the most revolutionary activities to occur during the American Revolution, though Lord Dunmore, who made the declaration at Norfolk harbour in Virginia, in November 1775, did so not from a banner of Freedom and Liberty, but from a desperate need to gather sufficient forces together. Vast numbers of slaves responded.

The Ethiopian Regiment with its inscription "Liberty to slaves", was made up entirely of black slaves who accepted the promise of freedom.[2] The significance of this regiment for the slaves cannot be underestimated. It was their chance of freedom - they saw it as an opportunity that God had given and it was to them a confirmation that they were indeed chosen people. Following the Great Awakening and the conversion of many of the black people, it appeared that God had heard the cries of His children and against all odds He was rescuing them. Even the very name "Ethiopian" was taken to be an indication of this. George Shepperson has noted that the verse from the Psalms - Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hands unto God - (Psalm 68 v 31) became the "standard slogan for negro aspirations". Ethiopian was the word used in 16th and early 17th century England for a black man. The King James Version of the Bible, 1611, had used the word Ethiopian to depict those of black skin. For the slaves the term was heavily laden with the connotation of returning to Africa; indeed all of Africa was blanketed under the term "Ethiopia". Every reference to

Ethiopians in the Bible could be taken by the slaves as a reference to all of the black people. It was a term giving an identity to the black and slave population.[3]

When the advantages of having a body of black support became obvious, the British Commander in chief, Sir Henry Clinton, issued the Philipsburg Proclamation promising "to every negro who shall desert the Rebel standard, full security to follow within these lines, any occupation which he shall think proper".[4] Whatever the motivation, the effect of these declarations was a vast number of slaves, and others, waiting at the close of the war to be rewarded not only with their freedom but also with land and financial assistance to enable them to live as free men. In a situation of defeat Britain was faced with pressure from all sides and the first to experience the effects of defeat were the loyalist slaves. American slave masters demanded a return of their slaves, loyalist slave owners demanded the same as compensation for the loss of their estates. These same loyalists demanded the return of the slaves to their American owners in the hope that this would encourage compensation.[5]

The first known group of black loyalists to be evacuated arrived from New York into Nova Scotia in 1776. Suggestions were raised that this Boston "Company of Negroes" be used as a ransom in exchange for loyalist prisoners but the Nova Scotian Council refused to counter such a scheme. Nevertheless the blacks were subjected to the overhanging threat of this possibility. On 14 December 1782 the British evacuated Charlestown. The task of removing 4,000 black loyalists, and a further 6,000 slaves annexed by them fell to General Leslie, the British Commander in Chief. He insisted that the British fulfil the promises made to those blacks who had been very useful. Due to last minute tensions and a breakdown in communications between American and British representatives on a commission established to decide upon conflicting claims, many slaves managed to board British vessels. The majority went to Jamaica and St Augustine, others found their way to Nova Scotia.[6]

The provisional peace agreement signed in Paris on the 30 November 1787 between Britain and America, calling for Britain to withdraw immediately, without any

American property or negroes, caused the final mass exodus of the slaves who had congregated in and around New York. The Commander in Chief, Sir Guy Carleton, obeyed the letter rather than the spirit of the agreement and, refusing to leave behind those blacks who had served Britain well and had been promised their freedom, evacuated all slaves who could prove they were under British authority before 30 November 1782. Those who did provide proof received a "General Birch certificate", issued by the commanding officer Brigadier General Samuel Birch, which authorised their departure to Nova Scotia. Even as they were leaving, numerous former masters poured into the city to snatch their slaves back again, and not until they set foot in Nova Scotia did the blacks feel they had escaped the immediate danger of slavery. Boston King, one of the black loyalists to arrive in Nova Scotia, describes in his memoirs scenes of "masters seizing upon their slaves in the streets of New York, or even dragging them out of their beds."[7]

Coming into the colony with hopes of a new life, free not only from the oppression of slavery but also from the fear of recapture, the black loyalists met with disappointment which shortly turned to bitterness. They were required to pay the taxes of the land and yet were treated as less than equals; they were denied the right of trial by jury, and were criticised by those in command as having entered the army only as an escape and therefore as not entitled to claim anything from the British Government apart from freedom from slavery.

Many of the blacks, with no land of their own and little opportunity of getting any, were forced to live on the white loyalist property where, in return for cultivating it, they received half the produce. Some of the black loyalists worked as carpenters, boatbuilders, sawyers, and masons and became an important economic entity in the country. Others found themselves employed in the Government service building barracks, jails, jetties, and constructing houses for the white loyalists to live in. Their value did not go unnoticed and, while neither their conditions nor their social standing improved, when the opportunity came for them to leave and start a new life in Sierra Leone opposition to them leaving was substantial.[8]

As more blacks came into the country, the tensions between them and the whites were exacerbated. In 1784 in Shelburne, one of the areas where a number of the black loyalists were placed, the hostility deteriorated into open riots. James Walker quotes the diary of Benjamin Marston, one of the black ex-soldiers:

> Great riots today, the disbanded soldiers have risen against the free negroes to drive them out of town, because they labour cheaper than they - the soldiers. (27 July) Riot continues. The soldiers force the free negroes to quit the town - pulled down about 20 of their houses.[9]

A public declaration by the magistrates in Shelburne forbade "Negroe dances and Negroe frolics" in the town, and in some instances the blacks were hounded by soldiers brandishing clubs. The memoirs of Boston King's life describe the deteriorating conditions:

> ...the country was visited by a dreadful famine, which not only prevailed at Birchtown, but likewise at Chebucto, Annapolis, Digby, and other places. Many of the poor people were compelled to sell their best gowns for five pounds of flour, in order to support life. When they had parted with all their clothes, even to their blankets, several of them fell down dead in the streets, thro' hunger. Some killed and ate their dogs and cats; and poverty and distress prevailed on every side.[10]

Segregation of the black loyalists occurred geographically - they were given the poorer land in the wildernesses of Nova Scotia beyond the towns. It was noted that the land was so distant from the town lots, being about 16-18 miles back, as to be entirely useless to them. Some were given no land at all. Social segregation also occurred - some townships developed consisting of only black people, such as Brindly town or Preston.

1. The Black Loyalists' attempt at change

> "the Governor would rather I should not succeed in my business than otherwise, probably from an idea that if the people were averse to leaving the province it would be a good argument to prove that they were content and that their complaints were groundless.[11]

Aware of the gulf between the Government's promises and the reality of the situation, and seeing no grounds upon which to assume the future would prove different, one of the black population took it upon himself to travel to London and personally confront the British Government with the actual state of affairs. Rumours about the establishment of a free black land in Sierra Leone had reached Nova Scotia, and Thomas Peters went to London with this prospect. Thomas Peters had been a slave in North Carolina and had escaped in 1776 to join the British in a bid for freedom. Six years after he had arrived in Nova Scotia he had neither land nor rights as a free citizen. Peters organised a petition to the Secretary of State, William Granville, asking for action to be taken with regard to the land. He approached the people of St John and Annapolis country and, with the help of some literate friends (he himself was illiterate), drew up a document which he took London expressing their grievances: *The Humble Memorial and Petition of Thomas Peters a Free Negro on behalf of Himself and Others the Black Pioneers and Loyal Black Refugees.*[12] The document stated that:

> some part of the said Black people are earnestly desirous of obtaining their due allotment of Land and remaining in America but others are ready and willing to go wherever the wisdom of Government may think proper to provide for them as free subjects of the British Empire.[13]

In 1791 he set out for London, a dangerous journey considering the likelihood of his being captured as a slave. In London he met with Granville Sharp, Wilberforce and the Clarksons and told them of the situation of the blacks.

By the time Peters arrived in London, the future of the Province of Freedom was in considerable doubt. The aims of the Province had been to bring about the "civilisation and cultivation of Africa", "the propagation of Christianity there" and the "Abolition of the Slave trade". The group that Peters represented seemed cut out to fulfil this task and the Directors took up Peter's demands and made plans for the evacuation of the black loyalists from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone.

John Clarkson, one of the original members of the committee under the leadership of Henry Thornton, volunteered to accompany Peters to Nova Scotia to present the case of the Company to the people and to organise for their departure. Clarkson left for Nova Scotia on 19 August 1791 with an assurance of the Company's support and an understanding that the Parliament would, in its next session, authorise a Charter and a grant of land. His mission was a formidable one. The failure of the British Government to pass certain regulations regarding the existence of Sierra Leone meant that he travelled on little more than hopes and promises of what system of Government, what financial aid and what legislation would be at work in the new country. A few days before Clarkson landed in the Province an advertisement was placed in the *Royal Gazette*, 27 September 1791, outlining the choices placed before the black settlers. These were (a) staying in the Province with the assurance of a more comfortable settlement in the future (b) joining a black army corps in the West Indies (c) accepting free passage to Sierra Leone.

The conditions that Clarkson met in Nova Scotia were frightening to his humanitarian spirit. He became aware immediately that the blacks were effectively in a state of slavery. When in Sierra Leone he wrote concerning the loyalists:

> The majority of those who remained in America are at this moment working upon the lands of white men in a species of slavery, for they are obliged to cultivate the ground of another man while he pays them by allowing them part of the produce, say a few bushels of potatoes half yearly when they have had more right to the land than the man who claimed it.[14]

In a situation where the whites themselves were not strangers to poverty, the very existence of some of the blacks farming land (however small and barren it was) and using up food rations, created tension and exacerbated the feelings of hostility between white and black. Yet when Clarkson came with his invitation to the blacks to "accept a free passage to Sierra Leone" the white population was unhappy. The blacks had at least provided a cheap labour force, however much they were disliked. Clarkson noted in his journal:

> The same man who addressed us (David George) on landing came to inform us that the principal inhabitants and white people of the neighbourhood were averse to any plan that tended to deprive them of the assistance of the blacks in the cultivation of their lands, well knowing the people of their own colour would never engage with them without being paid an equitable price for their labour.[15]

John Grant notes:

> Many of the Nova Scotians were opposed to the removal because they had been told that only the best of the black population would be taken, leaving the rest behind, whom the whites feared would be a charge on the Government.[16]

Clarkson had come with the orders to select only the "honest sober and industrious of the blacks". Though aware of how the "principal gentlemen of Halifax felt" on this matter, he indicated that he did not intend to confine himself to honesty, sobriety and industry in the strict sense of the words.[17] He did not intend to leave only "a residuum of the idle, the drunken and the dishonest", something that Halifax feared. Clarkson travelled from Halifax to Birchtown,[18] and then to Shelburne describing the policies of the Sierra Leone Company and the Government. He organised 15 ships, gathered together sufficient food for the journey, drew up a code of regulations for travelling, appointed deputies in charge of each ship and interviewed numerous blacks anxious to sail. Finally the ships sailed from Halifax on 15 January 1792.

2. Influences on the Black Loyalists that Contributed to their Perception of Themselves and their Religious Identity

i. Anglicanism

Charles Inglis wanted to fulfil both Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and British Government plans to secure dominance for the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia, in order to foster loyalty to the Crown.[19]

With the founding of Halifax in 1749 the SPG had provided missionaries for the English settlers and had made their first concerted effort to convert the mostly catholic Arcadians to Anglicanism. They met with little response until the arrival of large numbers of New Englanders offered the SPG the opportunity of increasing their influence. However, as we noted, most of the new influx belonged to the Congregationalist, Baptist, and Quaker tradition and while many attended the Anglican services in order to hear a minister when a Methodist and a New Light revival swept the country the non-Anglican groups followed their heart, and attended to the preachings of the various heralds of the gospel much to the disgruntlement of Bishop Inglis.

In the wake of the British defeat in the American War of Independence, the issue of loyalty to the Church and to the State had taken on new proportions. Charles Inglis had advocated the value of an episcopate throughout the war claiming it as "a Means to securing the Affections and Dependence of the Colonies". For his efforts Charles Inglis was consecrated at Lambeth Palace chapel as first Bishop of Nova Scotia.[20]

Inglis saw his diocese threatened with dissent, particularly from those following the evangelist Henry Alline, the New Lights, and the Methodist groups. The latter seemed more in affinity with the "enthusiasm" of Alline than with the policies of the Methodist Connexion in Great Britain. Inglis set out, as newly appointed Bishop, to re-anglicanise the area. Churches were built, and Church run schools created to attract the population back to the Anglican ways.[21]

There was the assumption that the so-called loyalists would all as a matter of course be favourably inclined to the establishment, considering they had received their freedom at the hands of the British. The church was viewed as a powerful instrument for ensuring the allegiance of the inhabitants, particularly the incoming loyalists who were potentially the most disruptive of the groups in Nova Scotia.[22]

Great numbers of those arriving into the Colony demanded to be baptised in the Anglican churches. Dr John Breynton, the rector at Halifax Anglican Church, reported that the incoming black loyalists "daily crowd me for Baptism".[23] The same was the case in other towns as well. The Rev William Walter, from Shelburne, held a mass baptism service for 70 blacks both adult and children on 21 November 1783 and the following year he baptised many more. In 1786 the SPG missionary Peter de la Roche reported another mass baptism - this time of 50 blacks.[24] The missionaries and the church leaders all noted that the blacks came voluntarily to be baptised. Various reasons were given to explain why so many of the black loyalists should desire to be baptised. It was said that many blacks, though Christian, had not been allowed the rite of baptism when they were on the slave plantations, and the corollary to this was that they believed baptism secured their freedom - once baptised no slave owner could take them back.

Dr John Breynton, commissioned "several capable Negroes who could read the *Instructions to the Negroes* and other pious books to as many of them that assemble for that purpose".[25] At Brindley town, those black loyalists who counted themselves as members of the Anglican church met for the most part in private homes and one of their number, Joseph Leonard, instructed them, with occasional visits from the Rev R Viets of nearby Digby and very occasional visits from the bishop. On one of these visits Bishop Inglis discovered, to his horror, that Leonard was happily baptising children and new converts, and administering the communion sacrament. Leonard expressed a wish that his church remain entirely separate from the whites. The Bishop's comment on him is enlightening; he recorded on 10 September 1791, Leonard "seems to lean toward Methodism".[26]

Many of the white Anglicans held the black church goers in contempt. A white from Digby reported haughtily that "the blacks are so wonderfully proud-spirited that the females think they must dress when they attend church in quite a superior style to the white ladies".[27] Those who did attend the Anglican church, which was predominantly white, found themselves being asked to leave as the church buildings were too

crowded. An example of this occurred in Halifax where a separate gallery was built in St Pauls Church for the black people, but when the number of whites increased the blacks were advised by the rector to meet in their homes.

ii. Methodism

The once supportive relationship that Charles Inglis had with the Methodists deteriorated when they proved to be a successful competitor to the Anglican Communion. Inglis, himself deeply influenced by the works of William Law, had appreciated the regularised devotional lifestyle that Methodism called for. But the Methodism he found in Nova Scotia offended his principles.

Methodism had been introduced initially into Nova Scotia by a group of Yorkshire Methodists, who had arrived around 1772-75 and had based themselves near New Brunswick. The son of one of these immigrants experienced an evangelical conversion during a revival, which W C Barclay notes, occurred without the aid of the clergy.[28] This young Yorkshire man, William Black, began to preach in 1780 at local Methodist meetings. Along with three others he formed a preaching circuit and spent his days on horseback preaching in the scattered villages. A Methodist society was formed at Halifax in June 1782. Black appealed to John Wesley for assistance, and received it from the American Methodist Episcopal Church, created in 1784 as a body independent of the British Connexion. Hence the Methodist Society in Nova Scotia entered into its strange predicament of being in a limbo position between American and British Methodism. At this point Wesley was still encouraging the Methodists not to forsake the Church of England, "it never came to my mind that I should leave the church because the minister preached a bad sermon", he wrote to Robert Barry.[29] Yet it was on Wesley's advice that they contacted Francis Asbury and received ministers.[30]

Freeborn Garrettson and James Oliver Cromwell arrived as missionaries from America, the first representatives of the first missionary activity of the newly formed American

Methodist Episcopal Church. Garrettson created the first Wesleyan Methodist District meeting, and became acting superintendent in 1785. Under his influence there was a widespread revival.[31]

There were a number of popular revivals attributed to the Methodists. Lieutenant-Governor John Parr noted of the situation:

> The Province swarms with Methodists who are indefatigable in propagating their tenets, especially those under Mr Wesley, and the Society may be assured, that unless persons of equal zeal and assiduity are engaged in supporting and administrating the rites of the Established Church, it will scarcely have a name in the course of a few years.[32]

Garrettson informed Wesley that an English rather than an American Methodist missionary would be more appropriate in Nova Scotia, as there were times he had been refused a hearing because he was an American.[33] Yet as Robertson has noted, Garrettson may have aroused the resentment of many of the embittered loyalists as an American, but none objected to his preaching style and discipline, whereas when the English missionary was sent there was widespread objection because he was too rigid in his observance of things belonging to British Methodism. Firmly entrenched in the pattern and procedure of the American way of thinking, the English Methodist found himself rejected. Wesley wrote:

> Alas! my brother, one just from Halifax informs me that they made objections to James Wray, that he is an Englishman! O, American ingratitude! Lord, I appeal to thee.[34]

Wray found not only the adoption of the American pattern, but also its close association with the activities of the New Lights, unfaithful to British Methodism. Followers of Wesley were looked upon, by many Nova Scotians, as a variation of the New Lights. Bailey, an SPG missionary, commented on the situation in a letter back to the SPG headquarters in London:

> The Methodists and New Light teachers in their struggle for pre-eminence have excited among the people a pious frenzy. The former for several weeks before and after Easter held their meetings four times on a Sunday and had a lecture every evening which frequently continued till three in the morning.[35]

Henry Alline, the dramatic New Light preacher who shook the church to its very foundations in Nova Scotia and elicited the rebuke of Wesley, dramatically changed the face of Christianity in Nova Scotia. The New Lights were most influential among the various sects arriving from New England. Well before Henry Alline arrived there were New Lights preaching in Nova Scotia but Alline and his followers, who seldom used the term New Light to describe themselves, were the most influential. Alline's followers generally referred to themselves by their denominational names - Baptists and Congregationalists - though they were distinguishable as a group from those Baptists and Congregationalists who were not affected by Alline.

3. Henry Alline's contribution to Settler theology

Henry Alline's influence on Nova Scotian religious life was significant. Alline records the suddenness of the new religious feeling that took over the country. In his journal he wrote:

> Many were very much awakened which was such a new thing, (neither known or heard among them) that many did not know what ailed them... for there had never been such talk as of a guilty conscience, a burdened mind, a hard heart, or a stubborn will, or about any convictions or any conversions, nor of the love of God or declaring what he had done for their souls, but only if one had a desire to be religious or had lost some relation by death, did they go to the minister.[36]

Although his style of preaching and its content was foreign to the tradition of Anglicanism in the country, numerous congregations were established. Some of the black loyalists joined his congregations and others were deeply influenced by his interpretation of Christianity.

In the mode of the 18th century, Alline's conversion experience was both dramatic and traumatic. His period of intense examination and self abasement led to an awareness of his complete helplessness to rectify his spiritual condition. For three days he says, he was dropped into the belly of hell then he saw the light of God. His conversion was instantaneous:

> O help me, help me, cried I, thou Redeemer of souls, and save me or I am gone forever: and the last word I ever mentioned in my distress (for the change was instantaneous) was, "O Lord Jesus Christ, thou canst this night, if thou pleasest, with one drop of thy blood atone for my sins, and appease the wrath of an angry God..."
>
> At that instant of time when I gave up all to him to do with me, as he pleased, and was willing God should reign in me and ride over me at his pleasure; redeeming love broke into my soul with repeated scriptures with such power, that my whole soul seemed to be melted down with love; the burden of guilt and condemnation was gone; darkness was expelled, my heart humbled and filled with gratitude.... My whole soul, that a few minutes ago groaning under mountains of death, wading through storms of sorrow, racked with distressing fears, and crying to an unknown God for help, was now filled with immortal love, soaring on the wings of faith, freed from the chains of death and darkness, and crying out "My Lord, and My God".[37]

Conversion was seen by Alline as the only solution to the ills that were besetting America and it was in Nova Scotia that an opportunity presented itself to participate in the great mission to solve those ills. While the Christians world was abandoning God's words, Nova Scotia was awakening to her new calling. The New Birth was at the core of this calling, through the New Birth Alline and his followers were able to gain a new sense of identity and claim a specific role for themselves in what was essentially a disorientating and confused situation. The New Birth, or conversion, was an immediate action that followed God's dealing with an individual:

> For as long as Man is seeking or expecting of Happiness in this fallen World, his Mind in chained down to his fallen State and cannot be restored. Therefore the great Work of the Spirit of God is as before observed, first to brig the Man to a Sense of his fallen Condition, ad the Impossibility of Happiness or Redemption, while in love with the Enjoyment of this fallen world: Neither can he be restored, until he is thus convinced. Therefore altho' the Work of Conversion is instantaneously, yet the Work of Conviction may be gradual; for Conversion is a Union of the inner Man to CHRIST, or the turning of the inmost Soul, after GOD, but the Work of Conviction is only the bringing the sinner to a sense of its fallen, helpless and deplorable Condition: And when thus convinced, if a surrender is made of Soul and Body, and all his Concerns into the Hand of the great Redeemer a Union takes place

> between CHRIST and the Soul, and the rapid Will is turned after GOD nor can the Soul be in a safe State till then.[38]

Conversion, for Alline, was seen as a spiritual climax, the consummation of an intense love-hate relationship between God and the sinner. In conversion one was married to Christ. From the time of his conversion Alline was convinced of his calling to preach to his countrymen and, after he had accepted, though not without intense emotional struggle, that it was not imperative that he have a theological education, he set out with his thoughts and experiences to preach a gospel which reflected his feelings of having been released from the bondage and oppression of sin into a new freedom. Alline was unconcerned with the external religious institutions; what was important for him was the salvation of the soul. Salvation, he believed, did not depend on any outward act of man, nor on any decree of God but upon the "union of the inner man to God and the turning of the inmost soul to God":

> For what is Conversion, but Christ's changing and taking Possession of the inmost Soul? which is, at the time of the Change, completely sanctified. And now to shew the Reason why the Man thus converted is not wholly sanctified, or without Sin, I will proceed; Man in his fallen State, as has already been observed, consists of Body, Soul, and Spirit: viz., an animal, or elemental Body; a spiritual and immortal Body; and an immortal Mind: And at the hour of Conversion the Son of God takes possession of the inmost Soul, or immortal Mind, but leaveth the fallen immortal body in its fallen State still.[39]

Alline's view that a spark of the Divine existed in all men meant an openness in his preaching, but his certainty that churches of pure Christians must be gathered out of society in order to act together to promote God's cause on earth created an obvious division between the Anglican churches on the one hand, and himself and the churches he had begun on the other. He held that in the material world there existed a spark of the Divine Nature in each man. All mankind was present with Adam in Eden, indeed the whole of nature was an emanation or outbirth of God and it was only through what Alline called "the ravishing of the spirit" that genuine spiritual harmony between mankind and God could be reached again. Each person's soul had come from God and therefore shared God's nature. Because of this the soul was always searching to return back to God. It was this Divine Spark that was the cause of the

power that dwelt within each believer and which separated him or her from those of a nominal Christian belief. His people were on no account "to have any dealings with any of those churches that held the form without the power."[40]

Alline replaced the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination with a freewill theology stressing human freedom. The first church that Alline established was formed on 27 September 1776 at Newport. It contained a mixture of Christian traditions - the remnant of a Baptist society and such Congregationalists who were prepared to share Alline's doctrines of grace. Alline's wish for a time to come when there might be no more disputes about what he saw as such non-essentials as water baptism, the sprinkling of infants, or the baptising of adults by immersion underscores the total authority he placed on the inner experience of being released from captivity. The churches which followed his teachings were not so definite in their rejection of the so called externals of religion, and soon some of the churches were stressing the necessity of being rebaptised before accepting communion. There developed "a rage for dipping or total immersion". Bishop Inglis described the scene:

> on the Saturday preceding these solemnities the preacher sits above the congregation with a number of select brethren on lower benches appointed to assist him. Before this tribunal the people are brought forward, often by compulsion, to relate their experiences, and if they consent to be dipped, they are solemnly pronounced to be converted.[41]

Of other New Light practices Inglis reported:

> the Methodists and an enthusiastic Sect called New Lights, are very troublesome [*sic*] here [Granville, 1791] and at Annapolis. Among the Latter, a woman had lately pretend[ed] to prophecy. Among other things, she prophesied that on a certain day, the devil would come and boldly carry off a man in the neighbourhood, whom she named. The day came and elapsed, and the man remained safe; yet the prophetess retained much of her credit and influence among her adherents.[42]

The power of Alline's teaching lay in his emphasis that all sinners could know salvation; his talk of a guilty conscience, a burdened mind, a hard heart, or a stubborn will, were subjects which even the least educated could relate to, and his dismissal of

the ordained ministers endeared him to those outside the Anglican communion. Probably Alline's most significant contribution to the Christian development of the black communities was simply in establishing an atmosphere of religious tolerance and innovation which allowed black leaders to initiate and nurture their own groups. Many of the New Light preachers preached for years without being ordained. Few had any teaching but maintained they were "children of the spirit intent on saving souls". These churches presented immediate appeal to the black loyalists as they came into the Colony familiar with the Christian gospel from preaching on the plantations.

After the death of Alline the character of the New Light teaching changed. While most of Alline's followers were not antinomian there were those, mostly based along the St John river valley, Cornwallis and Falmouth, who were noted for their untoward behaviour. Rather than turning toward the ascetic lifestyle that Alline had advocated they turned to new realms of freedom claiming that they were driven by the "Spirit of Liberty". The term New Dispensationalists was used to describe these antinomian New Light believers. As Rawlyk noted, among them there was a deep desire to experiment, to shatter existing religious values, to reshape fundamentally evangelical individualism and to challenge the community norms.[43] Cramp, the historian of the Maritime Baptist Churches remarked that "as they had no rule to go by but their fancies, which they called the 'Spirit of God', great irregularities ensued". Evidence of gross fornication, wild enthusiasm, adultery, and unnatural religious practices such as women riding on the backs of men, were noted against these "New Dispensationalists":[44]

> They believed in regeneration by the Spirit, in Christ as Savior, and in Heaven and Hell... Their religion was all feeling. Everything in the Bible, in the old or New Testament, was but allegorical, and was what all Christians experience.[45]

The influence of the New Dispensationalists gradually decreased in the later years of the 1790s. Edward Manning, one of Alline's followers and a leading light in the New Dispensationalist Movement in 1790-91 broke away and rejected their teaching as extreme. The New Dispensationalist movement influenced not only New Lights but

Methodists, offering freedom from restrictions and openness of expression. On Alline's death many of the New Lights joined ranks with the Methodists bringing with them all their ideas and beliefs. In that neither New Lights nor Methodists attended the Anglican communion Inglis complained that all the New Lights were violent Republicans and Democrats.[46]

4. The Significance of Christianity among the Black Loyalists

That Clarkson used the various meeting houses of the black loyalists to convey his message, and that David George, the leader of a Baptist group, became spokesman for the people and Clarkson's right hand man, indicates the significance of Christianity among them. Many of the black loyalists were members of the Christian churches before they arrived in Nova Scotia, having been converted during the period of the Great Awakening. Many had come to Nova Scotia full of the experiences of "revivalist" meetings; dreams and visions, long soul searching and nights of crying for mercy were part and parcel of the way into the Christian flock.

Boston King, one of the loyalists who left for Sierra Leone, tells of being brought up as the son of a Christian slave. At the age of 12 he experienced a strange dream in which he saw the world on fire and the supreme judge descend on a great white throne. In his own words he says:

> I saw millions of souls, some of which ascended up to Heaven, while others were rejected and fell into the greatest confusion and despair.[47]

In his recounting the dream there is no sense of this being seen as an unusual occurrence, though obviously it was regarded as a supernatural one, a sign from God. This type of Christianity, full of visions and dreams, was commonplace among the Nova Scotian Christians.

> If you go out here just after dark you will hear some lamenting themselves on account of their dreadful hardened state; others mourning for others, till tears

> interrupt them, then they sob and cry aloud for them as if they would bring heaven down to men by groans unutterable.... The people often thronged to meetings sometimes from fifteen or twenty miles distant.[48]

Among the congregations that the black loyalists were associated with, both before the war and in Nova Scotia, there developed an accepted "right pattern" of Christianity, a way to convert, as it were, the proof of conversion lying in the combination of various activities.

In Boston King's memoir he records how:

> it pleased the Lord to awaken my wife under the preaching of Mr Wilkenson; she was struck to the ground and cried out for mercy: she continued in great distress for nearly two hours, when they sent for me. At first I was much displeased and refused to go, but presently my mind relented and I went to the house, and was struck with astonishment at the sight of her agony. In about six days after, the Lord spoke peace to her soul: she was filled with divine consolation and walked in the light of God's countenance about nine months. But being unaccustomed with the corruptions of her own heart, she again gave place to bad tempers, and fell into great darkness and distress.[49]

In the testimony of his life, recorded in his memoirs, Boston King tells how he fled to the British Army after they had overrun Charlestown. He believed that since that action God had taken care of him, delivering him from various dangers, until he finally arrived in Nova Scotia with a number of other black loyalists. During the winter of 1776 Boston King records that "the work of religion began to revive among us and many were convinced of the sinfulness of sin and turned from the error of their ways."[50] While attending the class meetings conducted by the Methodist preacher Freeborn Garrettson, Boston King himself began to experience various doubts and dreads, experiences which were seen as the doorway to an evangelical conversion. On numerous occasions he "sought the Lord with all his heart", and each time his awareness of his own sin and his distress grew deeper. His conviction that he was, as he says in his memoir, "in the words of the sower, one whose heart was as stony ground," prevented him from experiencing any relief. It was not until the first Sunday in March he thought he heard a voice saying to him "Peace be unto thee". This voice continued to echo these words until, "I saw by faith Heaven opened to my view and

Christ and His holy angels rejoicing over me. I was now enabled to believe in the name of Jesus and my soul was dissolved into love."[51]

King's reference to his soul dissolving into love strikes chords with the preaching of Henry Alline. Alline also recalls how his soul which had been crying to an unknown God for help had been melted down with love.

In 1791, Boston King was appointed by William Black to supervise the Methodist Society of thirty-four persons at Prestant. In his memoirs he gives us a glimpse into the procedure of the society. On the afternoon of 24 January 1791 he preached to his people from the Epistle of James (chapter 2, verse 19) - "Thou believest that there is one God, thou dost well, the devils also believe and tremble". He wrote:

> Towards the end of the evening the Divine Presence seemed to descend on the congregation. Some fell flat on the ground as if they were dead, others cried aloud for mercy. A Miss F knocked on the door while the society was meeting and requested permission to be admitted. In her testimony to the society she told of her suffering, "My mind has been so greatly disturbed these last weeks that I could scarcely sleep and particularly the last night I did not close mine eyes but while I was under the preaching all my grief vanished away and such a light broke in upon my soul that I was enabled to believe my salvation".[52]

i. The Baptist Congregations

Alongside the Methodist churches there was also a Baptist Church, led by David George. It was an independent church mostly attended by blacks, though white loyalists were also invited to attend the services and they helped to build the church.

David George, a slave of George Galphin of Silver Bluff, South Carolina, became one of the most prominent Baptist preachers in Nova Scotia.[53] He was converted under the preaching of a Baptist pastor called Wait Palmer after a traumatic period of conviction in which he was too ill even to serve his master. He became an elder in a small group of five, including his wife, and received instruction from a black pastor, George Liele. He finally learned to read:

> the reading so ran in my mind, that I think I learned in my sleep, as [truly] as when I was awake, and I can now read the Bible, so that what I have in my heart, I can see again in the scriptures.[54]

The group increased and, when war broke out and pastors were no longer allowed to visit the plantations, George found himself in control of a group of more than forty. When the British overran the sea coast David George and fifty slaves went over to the British in Savannah. When the Savannah evacuation began George went to Charlestown and from there to Nova Scotia. George Liele left for Jamaica where, in 1784, he organised the first Baptist church at Kingston.[55]

In Nova Scotia David George pastored a church in the Shelburne area until he was forbidden to preach by the Justices of the Peace. Confined to the woods, he and those who had responded to his message began to clear a site for a church. "The worldly blacks as well as those who were members of the church assisted in cutting timber in the woods and getting shingles."[56] They appointed a place near the river for their meetings until the church was complete. Once it was built, white as well as black attended the services, but the general feeling of discontent and the increasing tension between the established church and the other bodies grew to such a degree that one evening a gang of forty to fifty soldiers arrived and, marching on David George's house, destroyed it. David George fled from Shelburne, to Birchtown where he preached and baptised until he was again attacked. Leaving Birchtown, he retreated once again to Shelburne and finding his erstwhile meeting place now turned into a tavern, he fought to get the tavern keeper arrested. David George was surprisingly successful: the tavern was again turned into a church, and this time he gained a licence from the Governor to "instruct the Black People in the knowledge and exhort them to the practise of the Christian religion."[57] One record we have of the Baptist church in practice comes from a letter dated Shelburne, 20 August 1791.

> Very dear sister,
> Yesterday morning I attended David's (insertion George: coloured:) meeting where as soon as I came I found about twenty to thirty made white in the

> Blood of the lamb singing Hosannahs to the son of David, several of them frequently were obliged to stop and rejoice soon after David began praying but he was so overcome with joy and was likewise obliged to stop and turned to me with many tears like brooks running down his cheeks desiring me to call upon that worthy name that was like ointment poured down upon the assembly.[58]

The letter was written by Mr H Harding and addressed to Miss Lavinia D'Wolf who lived at Horton near Walpole. It indicates the type of emotional experience that became so characteristic of the black churches, and that was a feature of slave Christianity, Alline's teaching and the revival movement as a whole. The experience became the established norm, it was adopted, explored, and given new and exiting dimensions by the creative thoughts of many of the black Nova Scotians. It was an experience that placed people into the category of the converted; it was seen as the only way to behave if one wanted to become a Christian.

David George's popularity was noted by Clarkson, who attended one of his services. Walker has pointed out that the influence of Henry Alline's theology on George's preaching caused his persecution, saying, "as David George fell in the Alline tradition of simple faith, total involvement and fiery denunciations of worn out religious forms, so he drew the fire of the more conservative Christian bodies."[59]

David George's preaching was inspired by vitality and enthusiasm. Rather than reiterating worn out religious forms, David George and other of the black religious leaders such as Hector Peters, Moses Wilkinson and Joseph Leonard presented a Christianity flavoured with emotion and centred on the idea of Israel as a parallel for the experience of the black loyalists. They were undoubtedly influenced by Alline, and more particularly by his followers who, after Alline died, became increasingly open to experiencing new ways of being filled by the Spirit. Baptist sentiment increased as the "rage for dipping" increased. Baptists and New Lights worked in such close co-operation that Armstrong notes:

it was difficult to make a distinction between their preachers. There were many cases of men being New Light itinerants for many years and then becoming Baptists.[60]

ii. The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion

The third denomination that played a significant part in the lives of the freed black loyalists who entered Nova Scotia was the recently formed Church belonging to the Countess of Huntingdon. Its introduction into the colony was the result of the conversion of a black slave in South Carolina. John Marrant underwent a conversion experience after hearing the fiery preaching of George Whitefield. He left Charlestown shortly after this experience, and journeyed in the bush for a considerable time. There he met with an Indian hunter who became his close companion. After a dramatic escape from death at the hands of Indians, and an opportunity to share his understanding of God and of salvation, Marrant traversed the backwoods of Savannah and South Carolina until he arrived in Charlestown again. He remained there until the war broke out in the South. Marrant enlisted on board ship, and after receiving a number of wounds was taken to a hospital in Plymouth to recover. When he was discharged from the hospital he went to London where he met Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and became involved with her societies. John Marrant remained within the Huntingdonian society in Bath until he received a letter from his brother in Nova Scotia begging him to come over and be a pastor to the many Christians there.[61] Just at this time a letter was sent from a Mr Calliff of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia to a Mr Whitwer of The Tower, London. The letter was dated 24 May 1788 and read:

> Sir,
> Your very kind favour of the 25 February 1788 I have received by the hands of the faithful brethren Messrs James and Milton, after a long passage. They are in tolerable health though much fatigued. O sir, could I have thought that the glorious God would have been pleased when I asked of him to send one faithful minister to this colony that he should send double. May God abundantly bless Lady Huntingdon for her care in this mission. I trust there will be a great ingathering of souls to the Lord Jesus Christ in New Brunswick, through her instrumentality, and that these are the first dawning means of bringing about a Glorious reformation in this land. The Rev David Philips is also arrived from South Carolina.[62]

This letter, along with Marrant's brother's letter, encouraged the Countess of Huntingdon not only to take further steps in ordaining Marrant but appealing to those attending her societies to give generously to the work of mission in Nova Scotia. Marrant and another Huntingdonian, Fromage, were set apart for the mission to Nova Scotia and left for Birchtown. John Marrant pastored a congregation of about forty families, the majority of whom were black. His mission tour generally resulted in his preaching in New Light chapels. Few new Countess of Huntingdon Churches were established, though sufficient members attached themselves to the church to ensure its existence after the exodus to Sierra Leone.

Black Nova Scotian Christianity was characterised by outbursts of emotion, long prayer times broken by cries and shouts, nights of searching for salvation followed by periods of joyful enthusiasm. It was full of vitality and it was the centre of many of the black loyalists' lives. With conditions as they were, and trouble around every corner, often the only security was to be found in the churches. Alongside the security was the friendship and community that the church fellowships offered. The need to belong to the only group that offered protection was therefore very strong, and the evangelical conversion experience, invoked as the way and means of joining the church grew in significance. This experience offered the black loyalists, and many others in similar political and social depression, an initiation ritual. It was depicted by those who felt that they were on the inside of the privileged Christian world, as the door of entry from evil to good, from darkness to light, from being lost to being found. The ritual developed into a standardised pattern of response. Unless one had gone through the stages of conviction, the sleepless nights and crying for mercy, and finally experienced the intense relief of recognising that one had passed from the condemnation of hell fire to the assurance of Heaven, there was no way of telling whether a person was a true Christian or merely a nominal one.

This phenomenon associated with both slave Christianity in the 19th century, and revival Christianity generally reflects an attempt to break free from the restrictions of

an imposed worldview where the boundaries had been laid down by someone else. Those in need of changing their boundaries included not only slaves but all those who were experiencing the poverty of life and the barrenness of a non-integrated community where one section was in control and others under some degree of oppression.

The Nova Scotian Settlers brought to Sierra Leone a form of slave Christianity modelled on the Exodus story, brimming over with the promise of freedom and the belief that they were God's chosen people. It was a Christianity changed and transformed through the wilderness experiences of their period in Nova Scotia, yet constant in the understanding that Ethiopia was stretching forth her hands to God. The idea of the Exodus gains momentum with the appearance of Clarkson and the promise of a return to the land of their ancestors. Their understanding of themselves in the light of the people of Israel is of significance not only in making sense of the political tensions in the early years in Sierra Leone, but also in understanding and interpreting the exclusive nature of their religious community.

Those like Sir Adams Archibald and Haliburton who write of the exodus from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone in terms of a movement of individuals do not demonstrate the unity that Christianity provided and the part it played in determining Nova Scotian attitudes in Sierra Leone.[63]

The Ransomed Sinners' Return

By Christmas of 1791, all the black loyalists planning to go to Sierra Leone had gathered in and around Halifax. Clarkson had organised the shipping, the rations of food, the division of the companies, the appointment of the Headmen or Captains over each group of loyalists, usually on the basis of religious affiliation, and saw fit in his spare moments coming up to Christmas to grant the request of the blacks that:

> if it is Consent to your honer as it is the larst Christmas day that we ever shall see in the amaraca that it may please your honer to grant us one days alowance of frish beef for a christmas diner... "[64]

On 10 January Clarkson gave the final documents promising a plot of land to the black people who had chosen to venture forth. He boarded his ship a few days later and on 15 January led the fleet out of the harbour.

It was a difficult period for Clarkson who experienced much sickness; two of his ship captains and over sixty Nova Scotians died *en route*. The ships finally arrived in the great natural harbour of Sierra Leone around the beginning of March, and the loyalists disembarked. Instead of finding the land marked out for the settlers and basic accommodation available, Clarkson met changed plans and drunken councillors who were living on board ship due to the uncongenial conditions on land. After five months of tension Clarkson was given permission to disband the original group of eight councillors and was appointed governor with a council of two - Zachary Macaulay and William Dawes.[65]

The first few years of the settlement were among the most tragic years for many of the loyalists; their hopes were not simply dropped, but smashed. Promises were never fulfilled; the only security that many of the loyalists had was in their religion, and even then prayers were not seen to be answered. The rations provided by the Company for the first few months until the settlers were able to support themselves stopped, even though heavy rains, and disease meant that the settlers were still unable to support themselves. The settlers drew up a petition expressing their grief that land was not organised for them:

> The Promises made us by your agents in Nova Scotia were very good and far better than we had ever had before from White People and no man can help saying. But Mr Clarkson behaved as kind and tender to us as if he were our Father and he did so many humane tender acts of goodness that we can never forget them and notwithstanding we have suffered a great many hardships before he left this country yet we were willing to look over everything rather than trouble your Honours in hopes before this Rainy Season came on we

> would have our land and be able to make a Crop to support us next year.... Health and life may it please your Honrs is very uncertain and we have not the Education which White Men have yet we have feeling the same as other Human Beings and would wish to do everything we can to make our Children free and happy after us....[66]

A few months after the Nova Scotians arrived, Clarkson, at the end of a church service, read out part of the last dispatch he had received from the Company in London:

> We consider them as the foundation of the colony, to their courage and fidelity we must trust its defence. We must in a measure trust to their industry for its growing wealth, and in our attempt to mend the morals of the surrounding nations we trust a good deal to their good example. To promote in them a genuine spirit of religion, and to guard against every relaxation of morals, by all possible care and attention, must be therefore one main object of our Governor and Council.[67]

The high hopes of the dispatch were soon shattered when neither the Government nor the Settlers were able to fulfil their ideals. While Clarkson himself attempted to ensure that the Settlers received what had been promised them, others who followed him, aware of the financial loss of the colony, tried desperately to make the venture profitable. Originally the setting up of the St George's Bay Company in 1790, which received its charter as the Sierra Leone Company in 1791, was to have provided the proof that philanthropy could, and did work as good business as well as good manners. It was to provide the means of ending the Atlantic slave trade as well as the Redemption of Africa. Henry Thornton, appointed chairman of the Court of Directors of the Company noted:

> We raised a sum of near £240,000 and gave to the subscribers far too much hope of pecuniary profit as well as general success.... We have had to govern a most perverse body of black colonists from Nova Scotia. We have experienced great difficulty in finding proper men to preside over them. We have been unable to avoid confusion in the concern of our trade thro' the want of honest and competent accountants. We have spent nearly our whole capital.[68]

Unfortunately, not all those working in and for Sierra Leone felt as did Joseph Hardcastle, an English evangelical business man interested in the cause of abolition. A friend of Clarkson's, he wrote to him:

> You have brought from a far country and planted in Africa, a precious Seed which is perhaps destined to become a great tree, under whose shade many are to rejoice.... You are filling the singularly interesting station of presiding over society in its rudimental State, you are to draw forth its latent energies, and cherish the embrio Virtues of untutored man...[69]

The Nova Scotians expressed their unhappiness through petitions to Clarkson and then later to the "Hble the Chairman and Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company London".[70] They asked to be governed by those of their own colour:

> secon we are all willing to be govern by the laws of england in full but we donot Consent to gave it in to your honer hands with out haven aney of our own Culler in it.[71]

Clarkson acted on this petition appointing one of the Baptist preachers, John Cuthbert, as a marshall to enforce writs and summon juries as the Nova Scotians requested. The original government plans, drawn up by Granville Sharp, were introduced. Tythingmen and Hundredors were chosen by the settlers to settle disputes and act as wardens. Living on the edge, and disappointed after Clarkson left the Colony in 1793, the settlers reacted against what they saw as any infringement on their liberties. Two settlers wrote to Clarkson complaining:

> Through the misconduct of our later Governor Zachary Macaulay we are in great confusion. When we acquainted him that these accidents (2 settlers threatened a slave ship with violence and were promptly dismissed by Macaulay) would happen he would not pay any attention to us & still he says we are men appointed as peace officers but does not respect us as such... we are sorry to think that we left America to come here to be used in that manner & then to receive no satisfaction from the Honourable Court of Directors we should be glad if you could make it convenient to come and see us once more as we will all wait with a longing desire to see you we are still where you left us in the Brothers Street.[72]

The situation did not get any better, tension between the Government and the settlers was exacerbated as each year passed and conditions did not improve. Yet Macaulay and Dawes, who both actively stood against the slave trade, sought to treat the settlers fairly and as equals, allowing the hundredors and tythingmen to control their people in a local manner. From the settlers letters to Clarkson it is made clear that the tensions they felt were not only directed towards the Government but towards each other. The situation had deteriorated into group squabbles, and it was only when the Government appeared to be taking away all their liberties in the proposed quit rent that the various factions united together:

> We have to lament that such an union as is very desirable for persons in our situation does not exist among us. There are as there always have been divisions among us; indeed Mr George & some of his people seem to think they can do no greater service for the Company or the Colony than to invent & carry all the lies in their power to the Governor against those who differ in them in things that pertain to religion.[73]

The various religious groups among the settlers were an important feature of early Sierra Leonean life. It was they who inspired political action among the settlers and provided the impetus to keep going in the face of disaster.

"Those Nova Scotians who bear some sort of religious character may be divided into four classes: the Baptists, under David George; the Methodists, under Cato Perkins; those under Mr Garvin; and those under Moses Wilkinson."[74]

Moses Wilkinson remained the leader of the Wesleyans. His great age and his fiery preaching became renowned in the colony. An English missionary, Healey, in 1813 noted of him - "he outstretches his voice at times to terror and frightfulness".[75] John Clarkson had a great respect for Moses Wilkinson, seeing in him one who had the success of the colony at his heart, and Moses Wilkinson returned this respect. Luke Jordan and Nathaniel Snowball postscripted a letter to Clarkson with the words, "Daddy Moses wishes his love to you."[76]

The Methodists suffered a series of splits in their ranks due to the influence of various charismatic personalities, all seeking to fulfil their claims for power in the religious field when the political field proved unconquerable. Despite the splits however, the Methodists presented the most coherent opposition to the Government.[77]

David George remained pastor of the Baptist church. While not so dramatic in style as his contemporary, he still managed to draw a number of settlers to his church. The account of his church gives an impression of his work:

> I preached the First Lord's day (it was a blessed time) under a sail, and so I did for several weeks after. We then erected a hovel for a meeting-house which is made of posts put into the ground, and poles over our heads, which are covered with grass.[78]

After a few months a firmer building was established which became the first recognised Baptist church in West Africa. The churches in the early colony fulfilled the role of a meeting place for Christian worship and political decision making. The nightly prayer meetings were a time when the community was drawn together, and Clarkson made use of these occasions to address the people.

In a letter back to the Baptists who had welcomed him when he visited England, David George wrote:

> I am very glad to tell you that the work of God revives here among our people, and I hope it will begin among the NATIVES OF AFRICA. I had the pleasure of Baptising one person on the 1st of September, and four more on Saturday 6th October. My elders, sir, and all the congregation, thank you for your goodness to me while I was in London.[79]

To Clarkson's great disappointment he found Thomas Peters using the prayer times to create discontent.

The Countess of Huntingdon Church had changed leadership. Cato Perkins, Marrant's successor, had been a slave in Charlestown, South Carolina. While in London during

1794, he met Thomas Haweis, the evangelical rector of Aldwinckle in Northamptonshire, and told him that his society numbered around forty.[80]

The independent groups which complemented these three main denominations attracted a smaller number of adherents.

Anna Maria Falconbridge's insomnia was heightened by the ongoing religious worship:

> Among the Black settlers are seven religious sects and each sect has one or more preachers attached to it, who alternatively preach throughout the whole night; indeed, I never met with, heard, or read of, any set of people observing the same appearance of godliness, for I do not remember, since they first landed here, my ever awakening, (and I have awoke at every hour of the night) without hearing preachings from some quarter or another.[81]

Seven may be an exaggeration, but some of the Company captains took upon themselves the role of religious leader as well establishing small independent churches. Beverhaut, a free black born in St Croix who had joined the exodus to Nova Scotia from Charlestown, had led a Methodist group in St Johns, New Brunswick. This congregation joined Clarkson, and Beverhaut became one of the Captains on the journey across. The Beverhaut Company remained as a religious group, though they gave allegiance to Moses Wilkinson.[82] The company, speaking of Beverhaut, said "in during his whole time in St John if he was Called for at any time at night he was always ready and willing to help a friend...."[83] Clarkson feared Beverhaut who had been influenced by Thomas Peters. He attempted to placate him by making him Church clerk. By the time Macaulay was in the colony, this placation seems to have been in a measure successful, in that Beverhaut was for a while regarded as one of the "White Party". The idea of a white and black party had arisen shortly after the settlers arrived, and was continually fed by flames of discontent, favouritism, and unscrupulous management from white minor officials. Beverhaut kept his supporters together. His history in the Colony is shaded with various rumours and trials. He was dismissed from his position as Church clerk. The reason is obscure, though, in

a letter written by the "children of faith" in the so called "Beverhaut Company" to Clarkson, it is said that Beverhaut was unfairly dismissed:

> He is a man of a worthy Concern but by false hearted trator would wish to do him unjustice pulling down his Bright before God in opposition against him which Causes great Concern to all of his Dear and Sinceir Children of faith....[84]

In 1793 he left Freetown and went to the Rio Pongas to present Christianity to the Muslims, but they failed to appreciate Beverhaut's "roaring style of oratory".[85]

5. Nova Scotian Religious Ideas - The Exodus Motif

According to J B Elliot, and a variety of other reports, all the settlers landed and proceeded to unite singing joyfully one of Isaac Watts hymns they had learned in America:

> Awake and sing the song
> Of Moses and the Lamb,
> Wake ev'ry heart and ev'ry tongue,
> To praise the saviour's name.[86]

The reference is to the story of triumph in Exodus, chapter 15, when Moses praises God that the horse and its rider (the Egyptian oppressors) had been thrown into the sea. The settlers frequently recalled the whole Exodus story. The Children of Israel, kept in bondage for a number of years, were led out of Egypt by their leader Moses. Before their dramatic rescue they were told to paint the frames of their house doors with blood from a lamb that had been sacrificed and specially prepared. The image of the lamb was adopted of Christ, who was seen as the final Paschal lamb shedding his blood for the rescue of all people from the bondage of sin. Ideas of rescue, freedom and God's intervention to secure such a rescue dominated their religious thought. The Children of Israel once led out of Egypt were finally brought to the land originally promised them, "a land flowing with milk and honey".[87]

The Harbinger, the Countess of Huntingdon magazine, noted that such was the unity of the first settlers that they all, Baptist, Methodist, and Countess of Huntingdon, united together during their first weeks in order to celebrate worship.[88] Another famous hymn of Isaac Watts, with its poignant message echoing the hope of the Nova Scotians, was recorded as being sung often:

> The year of Jubilee has come,
> Return Ye ransomed sinners Home.[89]

The role that these black loyalists were to play in establishing the colony and in introducing and nurturing Christianity in Sierra Leone cannot be underestimated. Over one hundred and thirty years later a sermon preached by the Sierra Leonean Archdeacon, S S Williams, in 1938 captures the spirit in which the settlers saw themselves:

> For what the Jews are to those people we call white people, be they Aryians, Caucasians, or even Mongolians, exactly so are the people of Sierra Leone to the black people, particularly so, those of West Africa. Their histories are almost alike. I do not know whither you have read or heard of any other people of Africa, who have been removed from their original country - the Congo, Nigeria, Togoland, the Gold Coast, or even Sierra Leone - and after having been transplanted first into the West Indies and America were later brought over after a lapse of time to inherit this Colony of Sierra Leone, a land which was never at any time theirs either by conquest or by purchase; indeed the land was freely given to them by the original inhabitants who willingly left their territory behind and resided in the hinterland which later became the Protectorate of Sierra Leone. Our forefathers having passed through that great and severe trial of bondage, second to none except the Egyptian Bondage of Israel, have, by the tender mercies of our God, been transplanted into this land in which we are. Just as the Old Testament prophets asked Israel of old: for what great nation is like unto this nation whom God hath assayed "to go and take Him",... "from the midst of another nation, by temptations, by signs and wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm and by great terrors...." To drive out nations from before thee, ...to give thee their land for an inheritance as at this day? [Deut. 4, 34, 38 R.V.] so too it would do well for us Sierra Leoneons to ask ourselves the like question....
>
> But all this was part of the divine plan and purpose of the Almighty God to keep these African Israelites separate from the heathen around them, and plant them in a vineyard where carefully watched and nurtured they could be fitted for that for which they have been delivered and called. For God who made man knew, that if those liberated Africans were returned at once to Lagos, Onitsha, or Calabar they would not have been able to stem the tide, and resist their own people....[90]

Early disappointments meant that the settlers' Christianity became a religion of desperation; they identified with the oppressed that they read of, or heard about, in the Bible, and their dream was that they too would follow in the footsteps of the children of Israel, led out of captivity into a land flowing with milk and honey. It was a dream that was extended further and further into the future, as the potential for its fulfilment slipped out of the hands of the "returned ransomed sinners". Yet in the face of this dream, they still managed to retain a conviction of its eventual fulfilment that both conditioned their attitude to newcomers into Sierra Leone, and determined their own sense of identity.

Their religious understanding, and its impact over the years on many recaptives who took up residence in Sierra Leone, cannot be properly appreciated without grasping this fundamental notion of return held by the Nova Scotians.

In Nova Scotia Clarkson had been seen as another Moses; in Sierra Leone he was looked upon to perform the tasks he had promised them. James Liaster wrote to him:

> We Believe it was the handy work of Almighty God - that you should be our leader as Mosis and Joshua was bringing the Children of Esaral to the promise land.[91]

The time in America and in Nova Scotia had been a time of slavery, the white slaveowners and those who despised them in Nova Scotia were the Egyptians. James Hutchinson and Moses Murray expressed these same sentiments in another letter to Clarkson:

> you have several times laid down before us the Oppression that King Pharaoh Where With Oppressed the Egyptians - several of us have laid that saying in our hearts we know find our Selves truly Oppress... but Honoured Sir leave us not in the Wilderness to the Oppressing Masters - but be Amongst us:
>
> As you took that Great undertaking As Mosis & Joshua did - be with us Until the End.[92]

The problem with this perception of themselves was that while it provided an explanation for the cruel injustices they had suffered on the plantations and in Nova Scotia, it did not offer a satisfactory explanation for the present situation. To see themselves as again in bondage to "tyrannous crew" meant that they became unsettled and adopted a position of defence. It affected their attitude towards the Government whom they began to see as no better than the Egyptians. When the ship York went up in flames there were those among the settlers who insisted that it was a sign of God punishing the oppressors. Luke Jordan, writing to Clarkson, said:

> But thanks be to God I Raly believed that God see the Tyranny and oppression that are upon us and send the Message of his Power to attack the Barbarous Task Master in the Hight of their Pomp and Oppression.[93]

When two of their number, Nathaniel Snowball and James Hutchinson, disgruntled over the decisions taken about the quit-rent, decided to move out of the Colony accompanied by a group of Methodists, they wrote to Clarkson. Snowball, elected Governor, explained the situation:

> but I am Chosin out the head of A Number of people to take my departure as the Ezerlites did. When we may be no longer in bondage to this tyrannous Crew.[94]

Beverhaut told his Wesleyan company to "have patience under their sufferings as God in his own time would deliver Israel".[95]

6. The Place of the Chaplains in Sierra Leone

The black preachers had been instructed in their own tradition; often through the teachings of their elders in the church; and through the various signs and wonders they witnessed and themselves experienced, as proof that the Spirit of God had been poured out upon them. The signs they responded to were the visible signs and the emotional signs - the rites of Baptism, the Communion celebrations, the observance of Sundays, and most importantly the experience of the heart.

The ritual of Sabbath observance became important for the settlers. The Director's account of the Colony of Sierra Leone notes that:

> They on this day abstain entirely from work, dress themselves in very good attire and repair together with their children to church, where their whole deportment during the service [forms] a very striking spectacle.[96]

Clarkson accepted the role of the separate religious denominations. He was concerned, however, with what he saw as their "untoward" activity. In his journal for 25 November 1792, he wrote:

> Our black preachers require instruction; they have had their use in keeping the people together, and it has been principally through them that I have had influence over the minds of others. I am continually telling Mr Horne that he would be more profitably employed in giving up a portion of his time to their instruction, than by going among the natives who do not understand English.[97]

Following the plan of the philanthropists, that Sierra Leone was to develop into a "beacon of light" to draw others out of their "heathen darkness", chaplains were sent to Sierra Leone to offer support and instruction to the settlers.

The chaplains who arrived failed to identify completely with the situation that they found. They organised united services with all the denominations and in this they were accepted, at least to begin with. Mrs Falconbridge entered her disagreements on the matter on 24 January 1793:

> On Sunday last notice was given that Mr Horne or Mr Gilbert would perform Divine Service, in future, every morning and evening and everyone is desired to attend. I am of the opinion that morning service is superfluous.[98]

These early chaplains were the most likely men to have succeeded in building a solid and workable relationship with the Nova Scotians. Neither Melville Horne nor Gilbert, both sympathetic to Methodism and anxious to preach the gospel, were able to come close to the Methodists. It was to be the initial pointer to the stormy relationship that many were to have with the Nova Scotian Methodists.

In a letter to Clarkson Horne had been described by Henry Thornton as:

> "a fine character, ...zealous beyond measure in his profession, has been in Wesley's Connexion, and is prepared to live and die in the service."[99]

Horne, convinced of a missionary calling to preach to the "heathen" ventured among the neighbouring Temne people, and preached to them using an interpreter. A sermon he preached in Signior Domingo's town was later printed and published as the only sermon ever preached to the "natives of West Africa". When Horne returned to England he published a short document on missionary activity pointing out that missionaries would be better served working among the unconverted Heathen in the African villages than basing themselves in Freetown. He also advocated that missionaries adopt the Wesleyan model of circuit preaching, an uncharacteristic appeal to itinerancy from an Anglican clergyman.[100]

7. Experiencing the Divine

The scenes that were so familiar in the meeting houses in Nova Scotia became common place in Sierra Leone. An eyewitness to the revival that had spread across Nova Scotia wrote of the events:

> I can tell you that all I have ever seen before is small in comparison with what I have seen here .. Some meetings have continued all night; and O, the heavy heart-rending cries would answer each other, enough to pierce the stoutest heart... If you go out just after dark you will hear some lamenting themselves, on account of their dreadful hardened state; others mourning for others, till tears interrupt them, then they sob and cry aloud as if they would bring heaven down to men by groans unutterable.[101]

Another eyewitness, a British soldier, travelling in Nova Scotia wrote a similar account:

> I went in, [to the meeting place] and found they consisted of about three score persons, of both sexes, all on their knees, and in tears, every one praying for himself, and bawling out. O Lord! O Lord! which were the only expressions I understood of what they said... someone called out that the devil was among

> them; upon which they gave all a yell, louder and more horrible than any Indian war hoop I had ever heard.[102]

Similar events occurred in Sierra Leone. The testimony of a woman belonging to the Wesleyan meeting gives an indication of the pattern of events:

> I had often seen in the meetings people falling down under the word and crying out and heard them tell of the many wonderful sights till I began to consider why it was that I did not fall down too, and why I saw no sights and thought God must have cast me off. I began to pray that it might be so for me.[103]

Almost all of the preachers spoke in a manner that encouraged such activity. Twenty years later the Secretary of the CMS in London wrote to their missionary teacher, William Johnson, encouraging him not to allow such extravagances as had occurred in Freetown:

> At Sierra Leone there has, on various occasions, been a still more extraordinary stir in the Methodist Meeting House than has been at Regent. By the vociferous preaching of Moses Wilkinson, a black preacher, a number of girls from 10 to 13 years were violently agitated, cried out in a remarkable manner, were pronounced to have been converted and professed to have found the Lord.[104]

Beverhaut preached in the Methodist chapels, Macaulay noted that he "discharged himself with the liberty of the pulpit, which being a favourite course with the Methodists, gave him a great advantage".[105] Beverhaut conducted a successful campaign in Granville Town among some of the original settlers who converted to Christianity, exhibiting dramatic yet familiar signs and wonders. Governor Macaulay wrote in his journal:

> On inquiry I found that the wildest extravagances had been committed there. Although I trust in God's hands any instrument may be useful, yet I have my fears that evil may follow this violent spirit excited chiefly by Beverhaut.[106]

Macaulay quotes some of the texts that the preachers in Granville town were using, words taken almost verbatim from the Authorised Version of the Bible, "may Thy

word be quick and powerful, sharper than a two edged sword to cut sin from joint to joint and marrow from marrow", and he gave another example of a typical prayer from these Methodists, "Lord, take them and shake them over the belly of Hell but do not let them drop in." The visual imagery of pain and torture, as well as the ever present pictures of freedom from the chains of sins presented the Christian gospel using imagery of slavery and release.

Macaulay concerned himself with what he saw as the:

> grave misrepresentations even of the words of scripture not to mention the frequent utterances of sentiments which but for a regard to charity one would feel half disposed to call blasphemous which occur in every sermon they preach.[107]

Macaulay wrote that it was "such notions as that of the Spirit's impulse superseding and rendering unnecessary the written word", that were unhealthy in the settlers' Christianity.

> Among the Baptists a dangerous antinomianism grounded on the doctrines of grace peculiarly viewed, among the Wesleyan Methodists an antinomianism of a different kind but not less fatal grounded on the doctrine of immediate revelation and impulses whereby the spirit of God is superseded and among the followers of Lady Huntingdon an antinomianism still more ruinous and destructive arising from the union of the above errors and approaching in kind and degree to that of W Hunting of Providence Chapel seem to have made alarming progress. This it may be said is not my affair, however there is no shutting one's eyes.[108]

Macaulay's criticism of the impurity of the Christian doctrine had been made earlier against the settlers during their period in Nova Scotia. Bishop Inglis, the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, writing of both the New Lights and the Methodists said:

> They are however rigid Predestinarians, hold that all mankind were present and actually sinned with our primitive parents. After conversion they are not answerable for any sin they commit, since it is the flesh and not the spirit that offends.[109]

Inglis condemned those who were failing to live godly lives after their conversion. His conviction of Christianity convinced him that the Christian life was a long upward climb towards godliness, from the moment of baptism to the moment of death. Those who believed that they were not answerable for any sin they committed were behaving in an antinomian manner, believing that they were no longer under any law. Such behaviour was heretical. The great mother Church fought against such evil contaminating the purity of the Christian faith.

While Clarkson had a measure of sympathy for the black preachers Macaulay was sorely tested by them:

> I am sure I do not go too far when I say that more than three quarters of them, I believe I may safely say 18 out of 20 are either perverters of the gospel, nominal Christians, or bad moral characters.[110]

Macaulay was writing under a certain bias. He was not fond of the enthusiastic exhortations of the settlers, nor was he happy with the political role that the religious groups played. His comments therefore clarify his own position rather than explain the settlers religious beliefs.

Horne who preached with "fire, perspicuity and simplicity"[111] challenged the settlers on the sin of incantation. Little details of the said sin are noted but it was obviously a problem, for more than once Horne exhorts his hearers to forsake such a sin. The sin seems to be the result of what Horne saw as the wild and uncontrolled passionate responses of the Nova Scotians to preaching. Macaulay referred to it as "a relapse into the idolatry from which by God's grace the settlers had been lately rescued". The sin, he believed, had been one of the reasons why the "wrath of God had visited the Coast of Africa with such signal calamities."[112]

Macaulay records Horne's discourse on 15 September 1793, where his design was to "expose the reigning folly of the Methodists of this place, their accounting dreams and visions as incontestable proof of their acceptance with God and of their being filled

with the Holy Ghost."[113] The passage from John 14 v 16 was used as proof of his point.

It was this discourse on dreams which irritated Beverhaut to such a degree that he stood out against the chaplain and attempted to lead the Methodist group himself. "In his sermon on this night (the night of Horne's speech against dreams and visions), he warmly reprobated Horne's doctrine as the doctrine of Satan, and endeavoured to restore to dreams and visions their ascendancy over the Word of God. He likewise inveighed against the Governor here, pointedly comparing Mr Dawes to Pharaoh, whom the just judgment of God would sooner or later overtake recommending to his hearers, however, patience under their sufferings as God in his own time would deliver Israel."[114]

In 1796 the Rev John Clarke arrived. He was a presbyterian and an evangelical of whose preaching Macaulay said:

> He uses a whole train of caul words and far fetched metaphors... "wrestling in prayer", "giving God no rest in prayer", "staying the accursed enmity", "when the Spirit of God takes a dealing with the soul", leaping over the mountains of our sins and slipping over the hills of our provocation.[115]

Clarke was unable to accept the type of Christianity that the settlers held to.

The difficulty that the chaplains faced was well expressed in a letter by Zachary Macaulay to Henry Thornton on the issue of whether the chaplain had authority over the other religious groups. Apparently Clarke, the Scottish Chaplain, had been the target for abuse from the people because of his actions in regard to them:

> That such visits were necessary Mr T [Henry Thornton] will allow when he understands that the three societies of Methodists, to the members of which Mr Clarke's visits were paid, had not only been, from the foundation of the colony, stated hearers of the chaplain, but on the present occasion, had intimated an intention of joining Mr Clarke in the solemn ordinance of the Lord's Supper. The preachers in these societies were far from regarding it at first as any assumption on the part of Mr C that he visited the people, nay he did it with their express approbation. And when in the course of a few weeks

> they had seen fit to alter their mind on the point, and given him to understand so he discontinued his visits.... Now the Methodists have resolved to expel from their communion every member who joins Mr Clarke.[116]

When making a visit to some of the settlers who lived on the mountains he was approached by a Methodist who questioned him on his understanding of Christianity:

> Tell me your experiences, sir, then I shall know whether you are a man of God. I don't call fine harangings preaching; that wont do for me. Your preaching must agree with what I feel, that's my test, if it does not then I must know you are wrong.[117]

This emphasis on feelings and their security as guiding principles is very much a follow through from the preaching of Henry Alline. Macaulay detailed his experiences and his impressions of one of the settler meetings he attended on the wake of the French invasion. It is one of the most clear descriptions of settler Christianity:

> It is a truth, no doubt, that our hearts are the proper seats of worship and adoration, and it may be said that of course that we may at all times and in all places have the comforts of communion with God, but experience will scarce justify this.
>
> We may feel a total submission to his will and a readiness to bear whatever His providence will lay on us but this is perhaps the utmost extent of that devotion which can exist in a situation of hurry and confusion, when the lips are not at liberty to give vent to the feelings of the heart.
>
> The pleasure arising from the expression of devotion and from joining our voice with others in praising God, may perhaps be artificially excited.[118]

Macaulay captured the significance of the settlers' religious experiences when he noted the belief of the settlers that their hearts were the "proper seats of worship and adoration". His fear was the fear of many missionaries to follow - that the expressions of devotion were "artificially excited". The expressions, and the manner in which the recaptives reached the pitch of enthusiasm that enabled them to make the various expressions of adoration accompanied by the screams and shouts of praise appeared to Macaulay as lacking sobriety, and containing an element of falseness.

Another problem emerged over Clarke's criticism of what he regarded as "turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness". He saw their behaviour as an example of antinomianism, a word that was frequently used to describe Nova Scotian religion in the early years.[119]

8. The Role of the Methodist Society

In 1794 Moses Wilkinson and one of his colleagues Stephen Peters approached Macaulay for his advice on the subject of the divisions that had taken place among the Methodists.[120] Macaulay reproached Wilkinson at this point for:

> the serious fault in their (the Methodists) conduct as a christian society which, as they did not chose to correct, it was impossible that sincere and pious christians could continue with them. I mentioned particularly the notoriously irreligious lives of some of their members whom they had refused to censure, the encouragement given to the discontent and rebellion, their uniform opposition to the establishment among themselves of the discipline required by the Methodist rules,... and the refusing to Mr Jones all liberty of preaching among them without any reason being assigned but that he had called them what in fact they were, a rotten society. The old man said he was overruled by others.[121]

The problem was, as Macaulay saw it, their failure to live upright moral Christian lives. Their behaviour did not ring true of evangelical living. They were not acting as the Methodists whom Macaulay knew in Britain, they had refused to adopt the rules of the Methodist societies in Britain. The Wesleyan Methodist Societies functioned on discipline - classes and bands were bound together in mutual discipline, each member correcting the others as a means of growing in the Christian life. The "Large Minutes", the legislation of successive conferences laid down the standards of discipline expected, and the standards for membership and growth. The 1789 Minutes, the final form to be published during Wesley's life, noted the question: "How shall we prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the society?" the answer was that no class tickets were to be given unless the applicant was recommended by a well known Christian or until they had been on trial for not less than two months. The General rules of the Society were to be given to them at the first opportunity.

The General Rules described the way in which a Christian could and should live, they emphasised holy living, doing good, and attending to the ordinances. Disciplined behaviour was an important concept within Wesley's understanding of the Christian life.[122] Wesley had made his opinion firmly known on the matter of incorrect behaviour:

> I can have no connexion with those who will be contentious. Those I reject, not for their opinion, but for their sin; for their unchristian temper and unchristian practice; for being haters of reproof, haters of peace, haters of their brethren, and, consequently of God.[123]

Macaulay, aware of the rules, found the Nova Scotian Methodist behaviour incomprehensible, a mockery of Christ and of Christian living. He believed that there was something inherently sinful about the Methodist society. The Nova Scotian Methodists may well have represented Macaulay's worst fears regarding Christian heresy, and these fears were further confirmed by the Methodists attitude to the Government and authority. He anxiously noted in his journal:

> Perhaps it might be well if Dr Coke, or some delegate from him, were to visit Freetown in order to establish some kind of discipline among the Methodists, for at present their government is a pure democracy without subordination to anyone.[124]

And again on 3 October that same year he made the same request:

> It were much wished that some sober minded and authorised Methodist preacher come out who might introduce more discipline and regularity among the sect, and correct the extravagant ebullitions of their spirit.[125]

The Methodism of the settlers not only reflected a different theology from what Anglican evangelicals, and Scottish Presbyterians were familiar with but it also reflected an approach to politics that British evangelicals abhorred. The Nova Scotians regarded the chaplains as representatives of the government. While they had responsibility for the whole Colony, organising regular Sunday and daily services, administering the sacraments and solemnising marriages; it was their connection with the government,

and not simply their religious decisions that raised the most problems for the Nova Scotians. As Macaulay noted it was "their no less uniform opposition, whenever an opportunity could be had, to the carrying the laws of Colony into effect."[126] Macaulay continued:

> Omitting the conduct of the Methodists to Mr Clarkson, their attempt to deprive him of the government and to confer it on one of their own number, omitting the violent measures adopted by Methodists with Methodist preachers at their head and forcing Mr Davies to raise their wages already double the wages in England and give merely the appearance of labour and for obstructing the laying out of the town, omitting also the incendiary letters sent to Mr Davies, one by a Methodist leader, another by four Methodists in which they threatened to cut of his head, as has been done by the King of France.[127]

Methodists refused to be treated as slaves. Some, like Nathaniel Snowball and Luke Jordan, who objected to the Government, led a group out of the Colony to settle finally at Pirate's Bay:

> it is my Determination to take my Jurney from this Colony to Pirots Bay at the Next Dry as we already have the town Cut Down being a piece of ground freely Given to us with A grant from Prince George Jemmy Queen and the heads About.[128]

Others remained within the Colony but were continually critical.

More than any thing else, it was the fear that this "unruly" Christianity would lead to rebellion that caused Macaulay to so object to it. It was a powerful liberating force, it was outside the jurisdiction of all that Macaulay, and indeed many of the missionaries who later came into the colony, were comfortable with. In a letter written by "sundry Settlers" on 16 April 1795 to the Hon Governor and Council of Sierra Leone, Macaulay's fears were underlined when the settlers wrote:

> We are the people of the Mathodist connection that are calld people of a ranglesome nature wish not to be under the compelment of law & it is so mention to the Sierra Leone company that we are a ranglesome sett of people in the Colony, but may it please your Honours Gentlemans of the Council we are a sett of People wish not to rule with envy or empression, but are willing to be under the complement of any proposhall that is just.[129]

The difference between the Nova Scotian form of Methodism and British Methodism was to have important repercussions for the Methodist missionaries who later came into the colony. Its initial effect was to alienate the Directors of the Company, who felt that the Methodists were the most aggressive of all the parties in Sierra Leone. Henry Thornton described them as "a most perverse body of Colonists".[130]

The problem was not simply the differences in form between British and American Methodism but the underlying differences in attitudes to the whole ecclesiastical structure and its relation to the Government. What was of fundamental significance was that all those in America who had experienced the trauma of the American War of Independence were insistent that religion remained outwith the control of the Government.

It was this that was to prove the greatest problem, not simply to the Government but also to the British missionaries. British Methodism, for all the supposed threats that it was posing to the political security of the country, was and remained loyalist. The Nova Scotian Methodists appeared far from loyalist, they seemed to represent a republican spirit in their attitude to the Governor and to the Established Church and its chaplains. When the new Church for the Colony was built, Macaulay reported that it had been deserted by the whole body of Methodists following Moses Wilkinson:

> On account, they alleged, of the ill conduct of Mr Jones who generally preached there, but as they absented themselves from Mr Langlands ministrations, I should think on account of the wholesome truth they should have there. These form a body of malcontents united under leaders notorious for their discontent.[131]

Langlands was the chaplain sent out in 1794. The ship he was travelling on sailed into the Freetown harbour to find a scene of devastation in the wake of the French attack, they turned around but were unable to make their escape. The ship was robbed, Langlands losing all but his gown.[132]

Only the Baptists appeared to support the government's action but even their leader, David George, often spoke out against actions which he saw as infringements of their liberties. Tension between the Baptists and the Methodists was never far from the surface, support that the Baptist leaders gave to the government was resented by some of the more outspoken of the Methodists. Nathaniel Snowball and Luke Jordan in a letter to Clarkson detailed the divisions which were emerging between the various factions of the Nova Scotians:

> There are as always there has been divisions among us; indeed Mr George & some of his people seem to think that they can do no greater service to the Company or Colony than to invent and carry all the lies in their power to the Governor against those who differ from them in things which pertain to religion.[133]

When new regulations on marriage were introduced the Methodists and some of the Baptists reacted strongly against the Government, seeing this as an attack on their authority. Marriages were performed in the colony without the English legalities and Macaulay, wishing to bring uniformity into the pattern, drew up a set of rules whereby marriages could be performed only by the chaplain. Macaulay, in his journal, notes that:

> no sooner had the notice (concerning the laws of marriage) met David George's eye than he began to exclaim loudly of the violation of their religious rights and of the call there was to resist such an action even unto blood... David's people were too violently agitated to attend to reasoning. He then went to some of the most disaffected of the Methodist leaders.[134]

John Garvin, a Baptist who had been sent out from England as a school teacher, was partly responsible for feeding these fears. Having resigned his post in 1793 he remained in Freetown creating havoc by speaking with bitterness about the Company and telling the people that the Presbyterian chaplain was intending to impose Presbyterianism on Sierra Leone. When John Clarke preached a sermon on "compel them to come in that my house may be filled", Luke 14 v 23, Garvin interpreted his message to mean that Clark wanted to shut down all the Methodist Meeting Houses forcing everyone to attend the chaplain's services. Garvin sent a letter in the name

of a number of Baptist, Methodist and Huntingdonians to Macaulay protesting against the decisions over the marriage laws. The letter, written in the name of the "Independent Methodist Church of Freetown", stated:

> we consider this new law as an encroachment on our religious rights; and as such we not only mean to be inattentive to it, but to influence the minds of all we have to do with, against it...
>
> We must acknowledge that your advertisement is very disgusting to us, for we are dissenters, and esteem it our privilege to be so, and as such we consider ourselves a perfect church having no need of the assistance of any worldly powers to appoint or perform religious ceremonies for us... Our meeting house we count as fit for any religious purpose, as the house you call a church. We cannot persuade ourselves that politics and religion have any connection and therefore think it not right for a Governor of the one to be meddling with the other. If persons in Holy orders are allowed to marry, we see no reason why our Ministers should not do it.[135]

Garvin's influence was clearly seen in the letter, particularly in the proud and determined approach he took to calling the protesters "Dissenters". Here the religious tensions of England came to the fore, and the Methodists underlined their opposition, not only to the Company Government, but to all those who gave their allegiance to it, regardless of their religious affiliation. The Methodist Body in England, while separate from the Church of England, were reluctant to call themselves dissenters. They still used the Established Church Prayerbook, and some still attended Church services along with their class meetings. The Methodist connection regularly declared their allegiance to the Constitution and urged the duty of civil obedience on their members. Garvin's bitterness captures the exclusion felt by nonconformists, as they rejected the need for an ordained minister to administer the sacraments, and met in meeting houses, churches being the property of the Established Church.

This letter was signed by 128 Nova Scotians, some of whom later came to Macaulay to say they were sorry. Its rejection of chaplains to perform religious duties was taken back, for it was for this reason that the Nova Scotians begged the Methodist Society in Britain to send them a missionary who could take charge of their society allowing them the freedom not to have to attend the Established Church.

9. The Escalation of Settler Discontent

The Nova Scotians were an independent group of people, and they demanded to be respected as such. They believed the land was theirs, just as the country was theirs. Without land they were no more than the slaves to those who owned the land, their security had disappeared, and more than this their rights as free people had disappeared. The Nova Scotians were discontented. They did not receive the land quotas that they had been promised - "Every married man was promised 30 acres of land and every male child under 15 years of age was entitled to five acres"[136] - nor had they received satisfactory provisions to support them while they cleared sufficient land for themselves. There were constant threats of attack from the Temne people whose land the Company had taken over. So when the government attempted to introduce a quit-rent that appeared to remove their rights to the land ownership the Nova Scotians reacted.

The seeds of discontent were well watered with the proposed quit-rent taxes and the implications of such an action from the government. The elections of 1796, set to take place after the announcement of the rent, resulted in a drawing together of all the forces of discontent and provided a specific platform from which they could be addressed. Local government had been introduced in the form of "Tythingmen and Hundredors", a system adopted by Granville Sharp from what he believed was the old Anglo-Saxon. Every ten people elected a representative to control their affairs, a Tythingman, and every ten Tythingmen elected a Hundredor. In the elections not one white man was elected, the thirty black Tythingmen announced their plans to thwart every "measure proposed by the white".

From within the churches the voices of dissension and rebellion spoke out. The action had not only political but religious implications. If the settlers could never really own the land then their belief that this land had been their "promised land" fell down. Their whole understanding of the past years of their life had been conditioned by this overriding religious belief, and suddenly the very heart of it was being torn away. Their conversion was seen as the entrance to this journey of freedom to the promised

land, and God, the God of the Israelites, was the God of their salvation as they so often sang in their meeting houses. He was their Deliverer out of bondage and He was being called upon to deliver them out of bondage again. David George expressed his anger at the quit-rent situation by warning that he would excommunicate any member of his congregation who paid it.[137]

In the end the quit-rent was recognised as uncollectible, but the issue still lay at the forefront of the political feeling. It had been a pivot for other complaints and demands. The Nova Scotians insisted that Clarkson had promised them the right to rule and they asked that two black Justices of the Peace and one black judge be appointed. After making the request the Nova Scotians went ahead and fulfilled it, making Mingo Jordan a judge, and John Cuthbert and Isaac Anderson Justices of the Peace.[138] The situation heightened as the Tythingman and Hundredors insisted that their appointments be recognised. As each was ignored, they demanded greater and greater liberties claiming that they were Africans and therefore not subject to English Law.

It was suggested by Governor Ludlam that they list their grievances so that they could receive proper attention, and a list was drawn up complaining of the way they were treated at the Company stores, and by Company servants. Nothing happened, and in September 1800 "Papers of Law" were pinned to the house of Abraham Smith, one of the settlers. The authority of the Hundredors and Tythingmen was announced with statements like:

> If any man shall serve a summons or warrant or execution without orders from the Hundredors and Tythingmen must pay a fine of £20....
>
> And this is to give notice by the Hundredors and Tythingmen that the laws they have made that if settlers shall owe a debt to the company they shall come to the Hundredors and Tythingmen and prove their account, and swear to it.[139]

The Nova Scotians insisted on their rights and insisted also that they would procure them. This new constitution, which would give them their promised position, would

be in force from 25 September.[140] The government, fearful of a war and aware that they had neither the equipment nor the men to fight, called together the employees of the Company and the Nova Scotians he could still trust and equipped them with arms. Ludlam issued warrants for the arrest of the three Nova Scotians whose names were attached to the new constitution.[141] A skirmish ensued, which threatened to escalate into a greater battle when King Tom, the local Temne chief, announced that he himself would take charge of the situation. The fear of a Temne attack decided Ludlam that he must attack, the Nova Scotians having rejected all offers of peace. On the day of decision, 30 September 1800, a large ship arrived bearing the Maroons and forty five soldiers of His Majesty's 24th Regiment, whose presence on the side of the Governor's forces changed the political situation in Sierra Leone.[142]

10. The Arrival of the Maroons

The threatened rising of the Nova Scotians was quelled and the Company was able to follow through the legislation of the new charter drawn up the previous year.[143] As a sign of thanksgiving, the Council resolved to make 30 September an annual holiday with church services and appropriate prayers to express the colony's gratitude to God for the arrival of the Maroons on that day and the "consequent providential deliverance of the colony from the late unnatural rebellion."

The Maroons had been liked by neither the slaves nor the British in Jamaica. Living in the mountains, they appointed leaders who represented their claims to the government whenever the need arose, and had in effect dominated the political scene of Jamaica for a number of years with their sporadic attacks against the plantations in order to seize ammunition, food and slaves. Trewlawney, one of the Jamaican Governors who was instrumental in drawing the guerrilla warfare to an end in the 1730s, wrote of the Maroons:

> They have long infested the country, and still continue to endanger the lives and damage the fortunes of many of the inhabitants. The attempt made to reduce them have been burdensome to the Publick in General and to several

> Persons in particular but I hope your wisdom may suggest some Effectual Measures to put an end to this Intestine Evil.[144]

The peace treaty which was drawn up called for a new relationship between the Maroons and the Government. One of the conditions was that the Maroons would assist with the return of runaway slaves to their owners.[145] This new identity as Government agents rather than rebels had important implications for the Maroons when they arrived in Sierra Leone. Invited to assist the Government in quelling the 1800 rebellion the Maroons willingly participated; as Fyfe says they "delighted at the suggestion they stretch their legs in familiar warlike pursuits."[146]

The years between the signing of the 1738/39 treaties and the revolt in 1796 were years of tension and disagreement with the Government.[147] Maroons and representatives of the Government did meet together, with the Maroons putting forward the various sources of their continued grievances. By 1796 meetings were of no avail, and a full scale guerrilla war broke out. Balcarres, the Lieutenant Governor, arrived in Jamaica just months before the war and he took it upon himself to use every power within his means to subdue the Maroons. His force consisted of some 1,500 British troops and, the ultimate horror for the Maroons, 100 dogs from Cuba. The story of sending the dogs in to ensure the final surrender of those who had refused to do so earlier is one of the most told tales of Maroon history.[148]

The rebellion ended with the impossible ultimatum put out by Balcarres demanding the appearance of all slaves within three days. The Maroons surrendered in various stages, the older ones being more content to give up their arms than the younger body of men. By 15 January, 91 men, 111 women and 124 children had come to the British. Balcarres, the Lieutenant Governor, unsure what to do but concerned about the future problems that the Maroons could cause, ended up making the decision to deport the Maroons.

The problem emerged of where to send the Maroons. Sierra Leone was suggested but W D Quarrel, the man supposedly responsible for bringing the dogs from Cuba, was horrified at the idea of sending them to Sierra Leone. He wrote:

> No punishment was intended them beyond their transportation much less a banishment to that dreary, barren and inhospitable spot, to which Death by the hands of the Executioner is a Mercy.[149]

In the end Nova Scotia was decided upon, and on 26 June, 1796 the Dover, Mary, and the Anne set sail from Port Royal Harbour to Halifax with the exiled Maroons. Five hundred and forty three men, women and children landed and soon they were employed by the Duke of Kent, the Commander in chief of the British Army, to work on the new fortifications on Citadel Hill. Two commissionaires from the Island Government bought 5,000 acres of land and buildings in the neighbourhood of Preston for the Maroons.[150] After one of the bitterest winters on record in Halifax they begged to be removed to warmer climes. Wentworth noted in his records; "they wish to be sent to India or somewhere in the East, to be landed with arms in some country with a climate like that they left, where they might take possession with a strong hand."[151] John N Grant notes:

> Wentworth became disillusioned with the Maroons as potential settlers; and moreover the monies granted towards their support by the Jamaican Government was running out. Since the Maroons seemed unable or unwilling to support themselves and must necessarily become a charge on the Public purse, and in accordance with their own request the Lieutenant Governor resolved that the only course of action was to remove them as soon as possible to Africa.[152]

Negotiations were opened with the Sierra Leone Company regarding the transportation of the Maroons to the country. Earlier suggestions had been made that they go there but the Company had refused to consider accepting a "body of negroes whose reputation could not be held to warrant such a step." By late 1799 the situation had changed. The Company was almost bankrupt. While the thought of the potential danger of bringing a group of guerrilla soldiers who had despised the British and had been severely treated by them still remained, and caused a certain reluctance among

the Company's officials, the financial benefits of the exercise soon over shadowed the fears and in August 1,800 the Maroons accompanied by a detachment of soldiers and a company official - George Ross, set sail for Sierra Leone.

The Maroons arrived at the moment of the Directors' greatest need. As Ludlam prepared for attack with Gideon's army without Gideon's assurance, a large ship came into the harbour and out of it poured the Maroons and their soldiers. A battle did occur on 2 October which dispelled the hopes of a new political rule of Nova Scotian rather than Company organisation. A military Court was set up to deal with those who had rebelled. Thirty one Nova Scotians were sentenced to be banished from the colony, though eventually they were amnestied and some returned to the colony.[153] Isaac Anderson and another Nova Scotian, Francis Patrick, suffered the fate of the gallows. A short letter remains as testimony of the action of Isaac Anderson in the rebellion:

> September Sunday Mr Ludlow Sir we de sire to now wether you will let our Mends out if not turn out the womans and Chill Dren.[154]

The letter written, though unsigned, by Anderson was taken by the Company as one of the statutory offenses which carried the death penalty.[155]

The Maroons ushered in, albeit unknowingly, the last days of the Hundredors and Tithingmen. On 6 November 1800, the Charter constituting Sierra Leone a Colony to be governed from London arrived.

The Maroons were initially housed in Granville town, the town of the original Black Poor from the streets of London. When the threat of the Temne invasion became a feared reality the Maroons were moved into Freetown to offer protection to the inhabitants of the town. In 1803 the move, which initially was regarded as temporary, was made permanent. With the Maroons all living amongst the rest of the population

the office of the Superintendent of the Maroons was abolished and they came under the direct supervision of the Governor and Council.[156]

Dallas, the historian of the Maroons, wrote of the Maroons that neither their period in Jamaica nor their time in Nova Scotia, had brought the Maroons into the Christian church. Edwards, another contemporary historian of Jamaica, gave his opinion of the religious condition of the Maroons in a speech to the House of Commons in 21 October 1796. The Commons, debating the issue of bad faith on the part of the Jamaican authorities in going against the conditions of the treaty and deporting the Maroons, heard Edwards justifying the action. Edwards portrayed the Maroons as "a group of ignorant savages, it would have been inopportune to have sent clergy men among them for, to his certain knowledge, the Maroons were Cannibals".[157]

Nevertheless within less than twenty years of the Maroons arrival into Sierra Leone they were playing a prominent part in the religious life of the Colony. They had leading positions in each of the denominations and were sufficiently organised to act independently whenever they felt they were being down-trodden by the original Nova Scotian settlers. The story of their conversion is intriguing and mysterious. Dallas notes that in Nova Scotia the government had thought it a good thing if Maroons were converted and had made arrangements accordingly. The Maroons were urged to attend the church services as part of their civic responsibility. Their children were encouraged to attend the Church of England Schools that Inglis, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, had established. He received a grant of £240 a year for their schooling and religious education from the British Government. Dallas wrote, "The Sandimanian schoolmaster, who had a far better chance of success, was rigidly excluded from their religious instruction lest his dissenting principles should corrupt them."[158] Inglis, anxious to draw them into the Anglican Church, and aware of the experiences of the other group of blacks landed and removed from Nova Scotia, prevented the Maroons, as best he could, from attending the New Light and other dissenting churches.

By the time the Maroons arrived in Nova Scotia the initial impetus of the revival had quietened down. Armstrong points out that while New Light religion had been the expression of the religious needs of the country, it lacked stability.[159] The New Lights themselves had recognised this and had turned to a more disciplined fashion of church government.

On the whole, little is known about their religious convictions until around 1808 when one of the Nova Scotian Methodists wrote to Dr Adam Clarke giving an account of the mission work which had commenced among the Maroons. Almost as proof of this he writes that they had begun to subscribe two cents each per week for the promotion of the gospel of Christ. From the account of the Methodists there appears to have been a number of Maroons in attendance at their services, and it was a Maroon, John Ellis, who took over leadership of the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion when Cato Perkins died. It is possible, indeed probable, that John Ellis had attended the Countess of Huntingdon Church in Nova Scotia, and this would explain his seemingly quick rise to leadership in Sierra Leone. Maroons were therefore influenced to join both these groups despite the fact that on their arrival into the Colony they had fought against them, particularly against the Methodists who led the rebellion.

Maroons attended Nova Scotian services and within a relatively short period many were actively involved in churches. A B C Sibthorpe, drawing from the somewhat prejudiced and fanciful book of Rankin's, *White Mans' Grave; a Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834*, wrote of the two groups:

> The Maroons as a race are neither religious nor educated, the settlers consider themselves both.[160]

The Maroons were often depicted according Sibthorpe's biased view, but the existence of a Maroon Church and the important, though scarce, references made regarding their religious situation indicate a much stronger Christian group than has often been recognised.

11. Summary

The Nova Scotians arrived into the Colony of Sierra Leone with great expectations of a new life. Promises made to them by John Clarkson, were complimented in their minds and hearts by promises from the Holy Scriptures. They believed God had rescued them from the tyranny of the Egyptian, and had brought them, as He had brought the children of Israel, to their promised Land. They were staunchly religious, meeting regularly in their houses of worship for prayers and services. Their religion was a collection of ideas from the evangelical tradition - fed with Methodist philosophy and the teachings of that prophet of the Nova Scotian Awakening, Henry Alline. Their religion grew up in the depressed areas of New England where enthusiasm challenged the Established Church, in the plantations of the South where itinerant Methodists preached a gospel of freedom and love, and in the barren stretches of Nova Scotia on fire with Alline's and the New Light's witness to the work of the Spirit. Feeling was the stamp of authenticity. They longed for preaching and praying that affected their hearts, and moved them to see and experience signs and wonders. They were not an isolated group but part of a great community of believers scattered in all places where there was a conviction that God moved in mysterious ways. Their religion was conditioned by a perception of the truth of religion which was most definitely not to be found in the Established Church of the Anglican Communion. Their experiences of white treatment, both in the churches and from those who, as loyalists, were members of the Church had amounted, in their eyes, to slavery.

In Sierra Leone they soon recognised that they were not in the promised land. Sickness, disorganisation, failure to erect adequate housing, the rains and constant minor attacks from the neighbouring Temne people affected them. Only their religious gatherings offered security. They began to see themselves in a state of slavery again and some, despairing of the actions of the Company's governors and Council, left the Colony to take up residence further along the coast. Those who stayed continually challenged the authorities, not only in direct confrontation but in their unorthodox religious behaviour that, to men like Macaulay, represented dissent and threatened sedition.

Antinomian was the word frequently used to describe their religious activity. As a pejorative term it indicated their apparent lack of morality, their failure to keep discipline in the church and their enthusiastic responses to the Christian message. Their whole conduct was regarded as improper. Chaplains such as Horne and Clarke failed to recognise it as evangelical. Nova Scotian settler Christianity set itself far apart from British Evangelicalism with its code of upright behaviour, and its exertions to reform society. The settler emphasis on the need to express their Christian beliefs in dreams and visions, and their need to be able to feel God's forgiveness in their lives caused those who witnessed their services to wish for a better grounding in the faith. The cause of their problem was seen to be ignorance, and chaplains were encouraged to teach the religious leaders. Chaplains, such as Horne, were not so certain, and would have been happy to abandon the excess of Freetown religion for the unconverted heathen living along the Coast.

It was not simply in their appearances of religion that the Nova Scotians caused the Governors and chaplains problems; their attitude to authority challenged the very basis of the Colony. It was seen, or rather feared by some as a consequential problem of their religious disorder. Macaulay continually castigated their inability to keep discipline within their societies with their rebellious nature. Their attitude to all in authority, (apart from Clarkson who they looked upon as a father), was not characteristic of the Methodist Societies in Britain. British Methodism was whole-heartedly Tory. Wesley during his life had always stressed the need for civil obedience, he had rejected the democratic spirit that was so much a part of the American War of Independence. He had offered to recruit volunteers from among his societies to defend the country against the spread of the French Revolution.[161] What was found in Sierra Leone was not characteristic of the British Methodism and, because it was not, it gave all those who witnessed it a greater reason to fear that what they had on their hands was something more sinister and heretical than first supposed.

And yet despite the quarrels with Government, and the explosive situations that only the arrival of the Maroons from Jamaica curbed, the Nova Scotians developed a small but prosperous society. Houses were built after the American fashion, stone built and raised from the ground, trade was developed, schools organised in which a number of Nova Scotians taught, and society such that the more wealthy of the Nova Scotian households employed servants. Macaulay could write of the Nova Scotians in 1797:

> In the religious opinions of all of us there are shades of differences, but in our opinions of what is essential in religion, the affected dispositions, tempers and practice which becomes a Christian we are all pretty well agreed.[162]

FOOTNOTES

1 Peter Force, ed, *American Archives: A Documentary History of the American Colonies*, 4th series, 6 vols, vol 4, col 1385, Dunmore, 7 November 1775. Cited, James W St G Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The search for a promised land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*, Bristol, 1976, p 13.

2 Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, London, Chapel Hill, 1961, pp 21-31.

3 Jeremiah ch.13 v.23, 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopards his spots?' The word Ethiopia in the Greek language, *Aithiops*, literally means 'burnt face'. For a discussion on Ethiopianism see George Shepperson's article 'Ethiopianism and African Nationalism', *Phylon*, XIV, 1953 and Ken Post, 'The Bible as ideology: Ethiopianism in Jamaica', in C Allen and R W Johnson, *African Perspectives*, Cambridge, 1970. Post analyses four ways in which the term Ethiopianism is now used, but its use in the late 18th century was more generally to speak of Africa and Africans, particularly those who were living outside Africa.

4 Benjamin F Stevens (ed), *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783*, 26 vols, London, 1889-1895, vol xxiv, nos 2079, 2098.

5 A R Newsome (ed), 'A British Orderly Book 1780-81', *North Carolina Historical Review*, XI, 1932, p 370.

6 See also Esther Clare Wright, 'The evacuation of loyalists from New York in 1783', *NSHS*, vol 4, no 1, pp 5-26.

7 Boston King, 'Memoirs of the Life of Boston King, a black preacher', *Methodist Magazine*, vol XXI, March 1798, p 157. See also Phyliss Blakely, 'Boston King, a Negro Loyalist who sought refuge in Nova Scotia', *Dalhousie Review*, XLVIII, 3, Autumn 1968, pp 347-356.

8 Sir Adams Archibald, 'The story of the Deportation of the Negroes from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone', *NSHS*, vol VII, 1891, pp 129-154.

9 Raymond Marston's Diary, p 265. Cited, James Walker, *op cit*, p 48.

10 Boston King, 'Memoirs', p 21.

11 Charles Bruce Fergusson (ed), *Clarkson's mission to America 1791-1792*, Halifax, 1971. Sir Adams Archibald, *op cit*, p 138.

12 Cited, J Walker, *op cit*, p 107. See C Fyfe's article, 'Thomas Peters: History and Legend', *Sierra Leone Studies*, new series, 1 December 1953, pp 4-13.

13 Walker thinks it is possible that the alternative to remaining in Nova Scotia was added to the petition after Peters arrived in London. John Clarkson in his journal wrote that Peters approached the directors of the Company after hearing of it from other blacks. In the 1794 Report of the Company it is implied that Peters came to England already familiar with the situation. Viscountess Knutsford, *The Life and letters of Zachary Macaulay*, London, 1900 gives this impression.

14 'Diary of Lieutenant Clarkson RN', *Sierra Leone Studies*, old series, no VIII, 1927, pp 1-114.

15 Charles Bruce Fergusson (ed), *op cit*, p 9.

16 John Grant, 'Black Immigrants into Nova Scotia', *NSHR*, vol LVIII, no 3, July 1973, pp 253-270 and p 257.

17 'Diary of Lieutenant Clarkson RN', *Sierra Leone Studies*, no VIII, March 1927, pp 1-114.

18 A number of the black loyalists resided at an area they named Birchtown presumably after General Birch.

19 See Judith Fingard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia 1783-1816*, London, 1972, pp 26-38.

20 See his biography, R V Harris, *Charles Inglis: Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop (1734-1816)*, Toronto, 1937.

21 See the article by R M Hattie, 'Old Time Halifax Churches', *Nova Scotian Historical Society*, vol 25, 1945, pp 54-60.

22 Judith Fingard, *op cit*, describes the place of the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia during this period. Thomas R Mellman and A R Kelley, *Atlantic Canada to 1900: A History of the Anglican Church*, Toronto, 1983.

23 SPG Report, 1784, p 40.

24 SPG Report 1786.

25 SPG Report 1784-93, p 36.

26 SPG Report, Inglis Correspondence 1785-1810, 10 September 1791, p 15.

27 George A Rawlyk, 'The Guysborough Negroes: A Study in Isolation', *Dalhousie Review*, Spring 1968, p 26-7.

28 W C Barclay, *Early American Methodism 1769-1841*, vol 1, New York, 1949, p 167.

29 Wesley to Robert Barry, 15 Sept 1786. Cited, Allen B Robertson, 'Charles Inglis and John Wesley: Church of England and Methodist relations in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth century', *NSHR*, vol 7, 1987, pp 48-64, p 57.

30 Methodists in Nova Scotia remained in this situation of tension until 1800 when William Black travelled back to Britain to beg the Connexion there to bring the Nova Scotian Methodists under their jurisdiction. His decision had been forced by the refusal of Asbury to allow any more of his men to travel to Nova Scotia as preachers believing that they were needed in America.

31 George A Rawlyk, 'Freeborn Garrettson and Nova Scotia', in R P Heitzenrater (ed), *Reflections upon Methodism during the American Bi-centennial*, Dallas, 1985, pp 105-121. George Rawlyk (ed), *The New Light Letters and Spiritual Songs 1778-1793*, Hantsport, 1983, pp 30-34.

32 Fingard, *op cit*, p 129. See, G Stewart and G A Rawlyk's analysis of the situation in, *A People Highly Favored of God. The Nova Scotian Yankees and the American Revolution*, Toronto, 1972.

33 N Bangs, *The Life of the Rev Freeborn Garrettson*, 5th ed, New York, 1847, p 11.

34 Wesley to James Mann, February 1789. Cited by Allen B Robertson, 'Charles Inglis and John Wesley: Church of England and Methodist Relations in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth Century', NSHR, vol 7, 1987, p 48-63 and p 58.

See T Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church within the territories embraced in the late conference of Eastern British America*, 2 vols, Halifax, 1877-90, vol 1, p 208.

35 SPG Journal 27, p 429, 12 June 1799. See also the article by Norman A McNairn, 'Mission to Nova Scotia', *Methodist History*, January 1984.

36 H Alline, *Life and Journal of Rev Mr Henry Alline*, Boston, 1806, p 149. See also the biography of Alline by J M Bumsted, *Henry Alline 1748-1784*, Toronto, 1971.

37 H Alline, *Life and Journal*, pp 34-5.

38 H Alline, *Selected Writings*, edited by George A Rawlyk, New York, 1987, p 175. See also, George Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit. Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline*, Montreal, 1984, p 77 for a discussion of Alline's idea of the love-hate relationship between God and the sinner.

39 Henry Alline, *Two Mites, on some of the most important and most disputed Points of Divinity*, Halifax, 1781, p 94. Cited, Maurice Armstrong, *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia 1776-1809*, Hartford, Conn., 1948, pp 100-101.

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42 Cited, Allen B Robertson, *op cit*, vol 7, 1987, pp 48-63, p 53.

43 George Rawlyk, *Ravished By the Spirit*, p 84.

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51 *Ibid*, p 160.

52 *Ibid*.

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72 *Ibid*, Document 23, Luke Jordan and Isaac Anderson, 28 June 1794, p 42.

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74 *Sierra Leone Company Report*, 1798, p 47.

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80 A Skevington Wood, *Thomas Haweis*, London, 1957, p 190.

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88 *The Harbinger*, 1852, p 93.

89 The Year of Jubilee was an ancient Israelite tradition whereby on the fiftieth year of a slave's captivity he or she would be freed.

90 Moment for decision, Bishop Gelsthorpe's Campaign - Sermon on 18th January 1938, by Ven Archdeacon S S Williams, SLBR, vol 10, no 1, p 21-29, p 22-3 and p 27.

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92 *Ibid*, Document 29. James Hutchinson and Moses Murray, 24 May 1796, p 512.

93 *Ibid*, Document 24. Luke Jordan and others, 19 November 1794, p 43-45.

94 *Ibid*, Document 30. Nathaniel Snowball and James Hutchinson. 24 May 1796.

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100 M Horne, *Letters on Missions addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches*, Bristol, 1794.

101 M Armstrong, *op cit*, p 126.

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103 WMMS Archives, Sierra Leone, Davies to Buckley, 10 August 1815.

104 CAI/E6, 13 October 1817, Bickersteth to Johnson.

105 Knutsford, *op cit*, 17 September 1793, p 33.

106 *Ibid*, 3 October 1793, p 54.

107 *Ibid*, 27 June 1796.

108 *Ibid*, 27 August 1797.

109 Cited in C V Vernon, *op cit*, p 152.

110 Knutsford, *op cit*, 20 May 1796, p 137.

111 Knutsford, *op cit*, 7 July 1793, p 33.

112 *Ibid*, 7 July 1793. The sin is again mentioned in connection with the death of Henry Granville. Friends of the dead prince tried to find out by means of incantation the reasons for his death.

113 *Ibid*, 15 September 1793, p 49.

114 *Ibid*, 17 September 1793, p 50.

115 Ibid, 13 February 1796, p 118.

116 *Ibid*, Correspondence between Zachary Macaulay, Granville Sharp, John Buxton and Henry Thornton, 1794-1798.

117 *Ibid*, 24 May 1796, p 137.

118 *Ibid*, 4 October 1794, p 73.

119 *Missionary Magazine*, vol ii, p 93. Knutsford, *op cit*, 25 April 1797. Clarke, like his predecessor Horne, looked to the neighbouring Temne and there found a mission field. He began to learn Temne, and got so far as to commence writing a book in it. He died in December 1798 before finishing it.

120 Knutsford, *op cit*, 23 July 1794.

121 *Ibid*, 23 July 1794, p 60.

122 *Large Minutes*, published 1780.

123 N Curnock (ed), *The Journal of the Rev John Wesley*, 1938, 1V, pp 64-5.

124 Knutsford, *op cit*, 17 September 1793.

125 *Ibid*, 3 October 1793.

126 *Ibid*.

127 Knutsford, *op cit*, Macaulay to Thornton.

128 C Fyfe, *Our Children Free and Happy*, Document 30, Nathaniel Snowball and James Hutchinson, 24 May 1796.

129 *Ibid*, Document 25, Sundry Settlers, 16 April 1795.

130 Thornton, Papers, Oxford University Library. P Hair, 'Henry Thornton and the Sierra Leone Settlers', *SLBR*, 1968, vol 10, no 1, pp 6-11, p 9.

131 Knutsford, *op cit*, 26 November 1794, p 84. Jones was Horne's successor.

132 See, *Baptist Annual Register*, vol 11, p 256. Knutsford, *op cit*, p 71-74.

133 C Fyfe, *Our Children Free and Happy*, Document 31. Jordan and Snowball to Clarkson, 29 July 1796, p 59.

134 Knutsford, *op cit*, 30 May 1796, pp 143-4.

135 *Ibid*, 11 July 1796, pp 145-6.

136 Boston King, 'Memoirs', p 261.

137 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 73.

138 Director's Report, 1801, p 4-7, 11.

139 C Fyfe, *Our Children Free and Happy*, Document 39, 3 September 1800. 'Paper of Laws'.

140 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 84.

141 *Ibid*.

142 *Ibid*, p 85.

143 This charter had recognised the Company's sole responsibility to appoint a Governor and a Council, who in their turn appointed a court of civil jurisdiction under a mayor and a court of requests.

144 C.O. 137/56, Trelawney to Newcastle, with enclosure, 7 July 1738.

145 Article 9 of Peace Treaty, Mavis C Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796. A History of the Resistance, Collaboration, and Betrayal*, Granby, Mass., Bergin and Garvey, 1988, p 127.

146 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 85.

147 Though the Maroons did fulfil their side of the treaty and captured and returned runaway slaves, the Jamaican authorities steadily eroded Maroon rights and eventually provoked them into rebellion.

148 *The Edinburgh Review*, reviewing Dallas's *History of the Maroons* in 1805 picks up this episode in a critique of anti-humanitarian activity.

149 C.O. 137/97, Extract of a letter from Quarrell to [?] (no name), June 26 1796. Cited, Mavis C Campbell, *op cit*, 1988, p 241.

150 Thomas H Raddall, *Halifax: Warden of the North*, New York, Doubleday, 1965. Sir John Wentworth obtained an allowance of £240 annually to support a school and provide religious education for the Maroons. Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada New Haven*, Yale University Press, 1971. D Brymer, 'The Jamaican Maroons - How they came to Nova Scotia - How they left it', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 2nd series, no 1, section 2, 1895, pp 81-88.

151 Sir Adams Archibald, *op cit*, p 151-2.

152 John N Grant, 'Black Immigrants into Nova Scotia 1776-1815', *Journal of Negro History*, vol lviii, no 3, pp 253-270, p 260.

153 Five, including James Robertson and John Cuthbert, were sent to Goree (Senegal) then a British colony, and the rest, including Ansel Zizar, across the estuary to the Bulom shore.

154 C Fyfe, *Our Children Free and Happy*, Document 41.

155 C Fyfe notes that the charter of Justice granted by the British crown did not empower the Company to prosecute for treason. To avoid the expense of organising a treason trial in London, he was instead charged with one of the numerous statutory offenses which under English law at that date carried a death penalty.

156 James W St G Walker, *op cit*, p 245.

157 Brian Edwards, *An Historical Survey of the Island of Santo Domingo together with an account of the Maroon Negroes in the Island of Jamaica*, London, 1801. Cited, Mavis C Campbell, *op cit*, p 238.

158 Sir Adams Archibald, *op cit*, pp 150-2.

159 M Armstrong, *op cit*, p 129.

160 A B C Sibthorpe, *The History of Sierra Leone*, 4th ed, London, Cass and Co, 1970, p 27.

161 R F Wermouth, *Methodism and the Working Class Movement in England 1800-1850*, 2nd ed, London, 1946, p 38.

162 Knutsford, *op cit*, 27 August 1797.

CHAPTER TWO

The Missionaries and the Recaptives

1. Early Missionary Activity in Sierra Leone

It was into this situation of turmoil, Maroon and Nova Scotian tensions, and European frustrations that the first representatives from the Church Missionary Society arrived to gather their thoughts and provisions for the journey to the CMS mission base in Susuland. Melchior Renner and Peter Hartwig were trained at the Berlin Seminary, spent some time learning English under an English minister, Greaves, at the African Academy in London, and arrived in Freetown in 1804.[1] Both were under instructions from the CMS to stay in Freetown a year, and then move. Ill health affected them and caused Hartwig's wife to leave the Colony shortly after arriving, though not before opening a school for settler children. Hartwig found the pressure of the mission life too great and the appeal of the lucrative slave trade overwhelming. He left the mission, journeyed to Susuland and began work for Mrs Williams, an mulatto slave trader.[2] Renner remained in Freetown and was invited by the governor to take up the post of Colonial Chaplain, a post that had lain vacant since John Clarke left in 1796. The post united the CMS and the Government in their aims, laying the path for future cooperation.

Three more missionaries were sent out by the CMS. These men, Leopold Butscher, Gustavus Nylander and Johann Prasse, from the Berlin Seminary, each spent long periods in the service of the Society in West Africa. Nylander, after ushering Renner to take his place among the Susu, stayed at Freetown and performed the function of chaplain to the settlers and the white population in the Colony.

The Secretary of the CMS wrote to Prasse and Butscher shortly after they arrived in to the Colony encouraging them to move on from Sierra Leone:

> We are happy to understand that you were thinking of removing as soon as might be to your destination among the Heathen.[3]

For eleven more years the CMS regarded the mission in Susuland as their main centre of work, yet each missionary who passed through Freetown made an impact, whether positive or negative, on the settlers. Those who stayed in Freetown to serve as chaplain felt isolated and abandoned by their mission, excluded from what they saw as any real mission work and depressed by the behaviour of the white population in the peninsula.

Nylander became the school teacher for the Government school and his first wife, the Nova Scotian Phillis Hazeley, assisted him. The Government paid his salary and built a school house for him and his wife in 1810. On Phillis's death Nylander married her successor as schoolmistress, Ann Beverhaut, the daughter of the Methodist preacher.[4] Nylander opened an evening class for Maroon adults in 1810.[5]

Nylander held services and celebrated communion. Soldiers, the Europeans living in Freetown and the Maroons and Nova Scotians attended sporadically:

> His Excellency took Communion and brought with him the General of the Maroons whom I did not admit. When Church was out His Excellency asked me why I did not admit the old man. I replied, he does not understand what it is therefore it is better for him to stay away. A few days after the old man came to my household and said, "Parson Godda telly me for come you house for ratay, what matter you no pray for me on Sunday you go for pray for all t'other peoples you no pray for me 'tall me no likey dat, you musn't do so again." I asked him whether it did him any harm that I did not pray before him as I did before the rest. "Oh no, me no like it." I asked whether he was baptised, "Puh - me be christian before all t'other people."[6]

When Nylander asked him how it was he was a Christian and what his parson's instructions had been he said, "He tell me no tief no musy do no bad thing."

From the accounts of the Nova Scotians it would seem most probable that the reference was to one of their pastors in the Colony. The patois that the old man

was using appears to be the Jamaican Creole that the Maroons used. Renner had earlier reported to Pratt, the Secretary of the CMS mission in London, that he had baptised several Maroons.[7]

Nylander felt isolated and alone in his work in Freetown. The original church building, which was also used as a military hospital, fell into disuse. The services were held in his house. When the Methodists opened a school in 1812 he began to lose pupils. He reported back to London:

> It is true during the week I have but little to do, only to overlook the schools, and to baptise some and to visit the poor once a month and to bury as occasion requires.[8]

He was tired of trying to keep a congregation of few alive and responsive, and conduct a once prosperous school that was declining daily.[9]

Two missionaries, John Wilhelm and Jonathan Klein, arrived in 1811 with plans to go to Bulom Shore. Nylander, despairing at the apparent success of other denominations at the cost of the Established Church in Freetown could only encourage the two new men to be earnest in their missionary zeal elsewhere - "if we neglect Bulom Shore they (the Methodists) will take it".[10]

Nylander had become particularly concerned when the black American, Paul Cuffe, had introduced King George of Bulom to the four Methodists who had travelled from England on his brig. Nylander had started his mission career in a spirit of ecumenism. He had taught all denominations in the Colony, indeed his Sunday School was for the most part Methodist, and in marrying Anne Beverhaut, he had married into a staunch Methodist family.

Nylander's frustration at witnessing what seemed like every church growing but the Anglican Church, was added to by the fact that he was chaplain in Freetown rather than a missionary working among the Susu.

Alongside all this was the tension that had emerged between Nylander and the other missionaries. Their disagreements had reached such a height that Wilhelm and Klein were writing back to the Secretary complaining that Nylander was refusing to speak to Mrs Wenzel.[11] Mrs Wenzel was the wife of Charles Wenzel, a CMS missionary. She later died in childbirth at the Rio Pongas and Wenzel married Frances Beverhaut, the sister of Nylander's second wife.[12]

Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence on the situation in Freetown and the difficulty in carrying out the work of chaplain are found in Nylander's frequent requests to move from Freetown to the Bulom Shore. Finally the CMS granted him permission.[13] Leaving the conglomeration of various churches and the pressures of acting in a role that he himself found difficult to justify and others to understand, Nylander excelled in the missionary calling that he believed was his. His translation of the gospel of Mark into the Bulom language was one of the first pieces of translation work to be completed in Africa.[14] After the gospel, Nylander turned his attention to compiling a Bulom Dictionary and Grammar. Of his work he wrote:

> I have taught ABC to many who are now taller than myself: I have endeavoured,I trust, to make known Jesus Christ and Him crucified, wherever I have had the opportunity: I have also attempted to translate portions of the New Testament but always guided like the blind, in a way that I knew not - yet I believe with an unerring Hand.
>
> I have sown in tears - labouring in hope - encouraging myself with this that God's Word would never return void, but never saw any fruit of my labours till of late when I had, and still have, cause to believe that some of the people under my care have experienced a real change of heart which they show by their conduct.[15]

After Nylander left, the post of chaplain was offered to Renner who refused, even though he recognised that Freetown needed Christian instruction. In a strangely worded letter he asked:

> Where is the tabernacle of Zion? - who builds a house of God, a church for worshipping the good God who gives so much prosperity to the inhabitants.[16]

Renner saw Freetown as a Godless place. He, and others, complained that at night the streets of Freetown were often filled with masked men and women dancing and beating their drums. Klein wrote back to the Secretary describing the scenes one evening after he had conducted a sober church service:

> men and women dancing, trampling, clapping hands, and crying. The women fell on the ground on their faces, and one clothed in a beasts skin made the greatest nuisance of himself.[17]

In 1808 a law had been passed forbidding the use of "witchcraft" to intimidate others after several settlers were prosecuted for bringing in witchdoctors to try suspects by ordeal.[18] There was no understanding of the place of witchdoctors. Witchdoctors were seeking to stop witchcraft, not further it but to the Europeans both were placed into the one category as evil superstition.

It was the Europeans who were criticised the most. There were low moral standards, and numerous accounts of mulatto children born of Nova Scotian women and European men.[19]

Butscher was sent from the Rio Pongas to take up the vacant post of chaplain in Freetown, where he remained the only white minister until a Methodist, William Davies, arrived in 1815.[20] Butscher became superintendent of the schools also, thus reinforcing the link between Government sponsored education and the Church.

As chaplain, Butscher turned his attention to the Kru people living in Freetown. The Kru men alone came to Freetown to work, no women accompanied them and they never married but worked and saved until they could return to their home country in the Cape Palmas region in the south of what is now Liberia. They occupied a particular area near the shore at the west end of Freetown which they called Krutown. The Kru often hired themselves as assistants to the Nova Scotian washer women, or as servants.[21] The availability of cheap labour from the Kru men had a negative effect on the Nova Scotians creating a class division and a spirit of exclusivism. The Nova

Scotians resided in the flourishing east of Freetown. The only Kru living in this area were servants in the homes of rich Nova Scotians.[22] Butscher tried to commence a mission among the Kru men but they adamantly refused to receive religious instruction. Indeed of all the different peoples who arrived into Sierra Leone, these men were the least responsive to Christianity, perhaps because they had not experienced the psychological upheaval of being torn from their roots. Butscher wrote:

> We talked to them about building a chapel for them and having a white man come to teach them and they said if they learn white man's book and to read and pray to God they should die here or when they get back to their own country.
>
> In 1822 the CMS missionary Johnson recorded in his journal:
>
> Sarah Bickersteth is, as far as I know, the first of her nation who has tasted that the Lord is gracious. She is of the Kroo country and was brought to this colony by a Krooman five years ago.[23]

The Nova Scotian settlers were mostly Methodists who attended the ministrations of the chaplain only to receive communion, they organised their own societies and conducted their own affairs. Maroons were gradually attracted to the Methodists and to the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion, though some attended the Anglican Church. Nylander's recognition of the apparent redundancy of the chaplain, coupled with Renner's comments that there was not an appropriate Church building for the Established Church to function from indicates its low position. In the light of the difficulties that the chaplains faced and of the unsavoury behaviour of most of the European population living in the Colony it is easy to understand why the CMS grabbed the opportunity to work hand in hand with the Government to try and establish Sierra Leone as a Christian Anglican community. The CMS were most effective in their work among the recaptive population.

2. The Recaptive situation

On 25 March 1807 an Act was passed forbidding British subjects to trade in slaves after 1 May of that year. A few months later another Act transferred authority over

the Colony of Sierra Leone from the Company to the Crown, and on 1 January the following year the formal transfer took place in Freetown. In their final report, the Directors of the Company had noted that "not withstanding the heavy obstacles they had had to encounter, and the heavy financial losses incurred in the establishment, much good work had been done." They had "established a colony which by the blessings of Providence might become an emporium of commerce, a school of industry, and a source of knowledge, civilisation and religious improvement to the inhabitants of the African Continent."[24]

From 1807 the peninsula increased its population monthly, indeed sometimes daily, as slaves, rescued by the British navy from the ships of European and even British slave dealers, were brought to land. Freetown was designated the seat of a Vice-Admiralty Court where the cases of recaptured slaves could be adjudicated.[25] Fyfe has noted that under the Act of 1807 the captured slaves were forfeited to the Crown and then either enlisted in the forces or apprenticed. Though it is difficult to judge, it has been estimated that between 1807 and 1863, when the last shipload of slaves destined for the transatlantic market was brought into Freetown, about 50,000 people were released into the Colony.[26]

These freed slaves became known officially as the "captured Negroes". They are often referred to as Recaptives or the Liberated Africans.[27] The recaptives emerged as the group to whom everyone looked to fulfil their particular aspirations. It was they who were to develop a civilisation resembling that of Britain; it was they who were to develop a church as proof that the "heathen" could be evangelised; it was they who were to develop an economy that would make the colony a commercially viable venture; and it was they who were to develop as an integrated community which would indicate that the British manpower and monies that had gone into the establishment of the Colony were justified.[28]

The *British Review* surveyed the situation of the Colony:

> The injustices of holding in slavery negroes recaptured under the Abolition Acts is very obvious: but it is not quite so obvious what to do with them when taken. To turn them adrift on their own shores would only expose them to a second kidnapping, to send them to Europe would have been expensive and unadvisable, and to send them to the West Indies still worse. The Colony of Sierra Leone has however most seasonably supplied this desideratum.
>
> Not without extreme admiration do we look back on the origin and progress of that Settlement: which, from a little, low, and despised beginning, has become a noble and, we trust, an imperishable monument to British Philanthropy; and perhaps the destined focus for the civilisation and christianisation of inland Africa.
>
> As a depot for Recaptured negroes, and a convenient seat for courts of Adjudication, its value to this country is incalculable. Indeed if Government had not found this settlement already formed to their hands - and formed too on the principles which hold no compromise with the Slave trade or Slavery - it must either have altogether abandoned the plan of liberating the negroes recaptured by its cruisers or have established a settlement for the express purpose, a scheme which would have demanded more time, thought, and money, than could have been conveniently expended upon it.[29]

The recaptives arrived in a Colony where the Maroons and the Nova Scotians were struggling to establish themselves. Newly arrived recaptives found themselves attached to a Maroon or Nova Scotian family as an apprentice. It was a means of enabling the recaptives to learn a trade, but also a way of removing the responsibility of their care and its cost from the British Government. The result of this early initiative of the British had far reaching implications for the future of the colony. While it is probable, that the recaptives would have attempted to adopt the lifestyle of the Nova Scotians, the use of the apprenticeship system greatly encouraged the recaptives to identify with the Nova Scotians and the Maroons and see them as role models. The British were well aware of the risk involved in placing recaptives in such close quarters with those who only a few years previously had been so disgruntled with the Government that they were prepared to wage war. The effect of the apprenticeships was that the recaptives initially received an introduction into a form and pattern of life that was influenced by an American rather than a British way of thinking.

The arrival of Governor Perronet Thompson in 1808 saw a tightening of the lax attitudes as he carried out his personal vendetta against the Sierra Leone Company. Thompson, aggrieved at corruption, sinfulness, inefficiency and disloyalty, sought to

"rechristianise" the colony. He complained violently that the method of sending slaves as apprentices to those who paid a fee was no more than a form of slavery.[30] Yet without any other means of resettling them, the method had to be continued and many found themselves in the homes of Nova Scotian and Maroon business people, tradespeople and farmers.

Governor Thompson requested the Secretary of State to send out clergy from the Anglican Church and threatened to demand payment contributions from every one living in the colony, regardless of their denominational affiliations. Thompson had a strong dislike of the Nova Scotians, fearing their independent spirit. He abolished the name Freetown, substituting Georgetown, and significantly he replaced the dollars and cents, which were very much the contribution of the American settlers, with pounds, shillings and pence. His utter determination to eradicate the spirit of republicanism, which he felt abounded in the colony, is an indication of how Colony life was actually functioning.

Thompson's days as Governor soon ended. Governor Columbine, who followed him, expressed with equal contempt his impression of the society and insisted that idle young men and women who were "in the habit of disturbing and insulting religious worship" would be fined twenty pounds, and malicious women in the habit of slandering and defaming their neighbours were to be dunked three times in the water.[31]

The early years of the century witnessed both individual and group struggle to rise above the sometimes intolerable conditions, the erratic government, the lack of discipline and constant fear of war. Governors changed policies as they changed positions and with each change of policy a new group seemed to be favoured. Only the various churches formed in Nova Scotia and transported across the Atlantic appeared as stable features.

3. The Parish Plan

No concrete plans for the recaptives were drawn up until Governor MacCarthy reorganised the whole system.

In a dispatch to the British Government MacCarthy outlined his policy:

> Since my return from Senegal in July 1815 no less than 2546 Captured Negroes, men, women and children have been landed.... I have settled them in the villages and have devoted a great part of my time in attempting to give them ideas of European civilisation... I am thoroughly convinced that in order to civilise the Captured negroes, and to induce the Settlers not wanted for the purpose of trade to apply to agriculture it would be desirable to divide the peninsula into parishes, settling a clergyman in each. I would propose to erect a dwelling House for each Curate with a Chapel, which last for a number of years, would answer the purpose of a School Room. I believe that ample employment would be found for six clergymen in the Villages already founded or to be raised before next year, to these might be added according to the population of each village a School Master and School Mistress for five or six years, the formation of these establishments would cause some additional expenditure of money but the great benefit that would be derived from them, nay the saving that would hereafter arise in a very few years from having the Peninsula properly cultivated and settled with industrious People, the facility it would afford in the landing of captured negroes to dispose of them advantageously by dividing them in small proportions among persons of the same race who would have made some progress in Civilisation would amply compensate for money laid out with Judgment and economy.[32]

MacCarthy had his own plans and ideas for the missionaries. He was to influence the CMS throughout his period as Governor believing, that only through their assistance could any impression towards civilisation be made on all those in his charge. He was continually asking the headquarters in London for more missionaries and urged in particular for more ministers who could baptise and marry the people, which, he believed, would turn them into responsible citizens. However he was disillusioned to find the relatively small numbers who came out and remained alive in the Colony.

The number of recaptives settled and the difficulties they faced were great. The continual arrival of new people with no clothes or homes, unable to work because of general ill health and disease, meant that the villages into which they were settled always had a changing and growing population. Though a policy was adopted to settle people of the same ethnic background together, this did not always work, and there

was a constant movement of homeless people between various settlements looking for their countrymen.[33]

The hopes and aspirations which MacCarthy placed on the CMS reflected a very specific understanding that he had concerning the role of the Church and its relation to the government of the country. MacCarthy's view that the Church and the State should function together as a unity, each upholding the other, was a view acceptable to the British Government fearful of the repercussions of the French revolution. Norman notes that the general view at this period was that the Church upheld the mutual obligations which were thought to provide social cohesion. The State, for its part, protected the legal establishment of Christianity as the appropriate agent for the diffusion of benevolence and public morality.[34]

MacCarthy had been brought up a Roman Catholic, but had sworn the Oath of Allegiance, which incorporated the oath against Roman Catholic succession, in order that he could serve under the British Crown. Outwardly accepting all the tenets of the Christian society and encouraging others to do the same, he held to the principle that civilisation was of necessity based within the Church. He attempted to make those around him religious in the way most acceptable to his idea of civilisation, and the means by which he proposed to carry out this task were found in the CMS.[35]

The relationship between MacCarthy and the CMS grew up almost accidentally. Returning to Sierra Leone in 1812, the Rev Leopold Butscher was shipwrecked, and it was MacCarthy, at this point Military Commander at Senegal, who provided Butscher with the necessary credit to continue his voyage. Lord Gambier, the CMS president, sent a letter of high praise to the Governor of Sierra Leone and to MacCarthy for their assistance. Governor Maxwell had offered Butscher the Colonial chaplaincy and so when MacCarthy became Governor he continued to support Butscher in his role. He gave Butcher substantial support including a grant of 1,000 acres on Leicester Mountain for the CMS. MacCarthy's Parish Plan tied the Church Missionary Society and the Government together.

Alongside MacCarthy's desire to establish a tiny England in Africa by whatever means available was the view of Butscher on the slave trade of West Africa and the role both the church and Britain could play in eradicating it. Leopold Butscher, after his work in the Rio Pongas, recognised that the slave trade was an important source of income for Africans. He believed that the slave trade would continue until an alternative and equally lucrative source of income was established and here the British government could provide that alternative. This the Sierra Leone Company, and later Paul Cuffe, also maintained. A commodity for exporting was needed, but only through the assistance of the church and the government could that product take the place of slaves. Butscher persuaded Maxwell, and later MacCarthy, of the feasibility of his proposals. Both governors were prepared to use the missionary personnel available to them to help them make the proposals a reality.[36]

MacCarthy believed the Parish Plan to be the easiest way of controlling the vast number of recaptives arriving into the colony. The Parish Plan also gave to the CMS the institution whereby it could establish itself as guardian of both the church and the schools, and therefore of the development of the society. Missionary reports back to Britain centred on the increasing similarity between Freetown society and British society as proof of the effective work of the missionaries.

The Parish Plan depended on the availability and efficiency of CMS missionaries. It was they who functioned as a focal point in the villages. Through them the Government was able to keep control of the recaptives. They were often the only people who tried to fairly represent the needs of the recaptives to the government, and to defend the recaptives against unfair Government decisions. The order that the recaptives be compelled to take part in the building of a mountain road was met with resistance by some of the superintendents, on the grounds that it was cruel to force such a type of work on Africans still ill from journeying.[37] Peterson describes W A B Johnson, one of the CMS ministers, as:

> The symbol of the oneness of the community, the all centralising force which MacCarthy had conceived in his plan. Styled by the villagers as "headman", or chief, Johnson, as pastor, teacher, mayor, judge, social welfare director and director of public works was in fact *the* leader.[38]

Under pressure from MacCarthy to send more ministers to Freetown and to cease sending them to the Susu, the original base for the CMS mission, in 1816 the CMS sent out the Rev Edward Bickersteth, to analyse the situation of the mission, particularly the mission to the Susu, and to recommend to the CMS in London a proposed plan for the future. He wrote:

> it appears very important to mark the indications of a providential leading. Among these I consider the protection of an established government, the facility and safety of intercourse with the people, the economy attending the mission, and the number that may easily be gathered together.[39]

Bickersteth was impressed by MacCarthy's plans for the "civilisation" of the people. When Bickersteth approached MacCarthy on fixing a missionary schoolmaster at Kissy he was sharply told that a school master was no use. MacCarthy wanted a clergyman who could conduct legal marriages. Bickersteth reported of MacCarthy, "He promised if I could send one [a clergyman] there, to build a house and chapel and prepare immediately a temporary house previous to the rainy season."[40]

The situation in 1816 was not promising however. Bickersteth noted in his report on the Colony that:

> the first want that strikes a stranger is that though there is a large gaol, there is no Church. Some accidental causes have hitherto prevented the building of a church, but one will be erected without delay.[41]

(Plans were made and the foundation stone of St George's Cathedral was laid on 9 January 1817. The Cathedral was finally completed in 1828.)

Bickersteth continued in his report:

> the liberated African has clearly remained outside any plan to civilise and christianise the African. The villages seem to know nothing of Christianity.[42]

Bickersteth recommended that the CMS centre their attention on Freetown and the villages rather than the more distant Bulom and Susu. Bickersteth's survey of the lack of Christianity in the villages must be understood by his further plea to the CMS:

> If Anglicans don't pull out of the Rio Pongas and into the Colony, Methodists will, Mr Brown and Mr Hirst are making all advances they can to possess the place.[43]

The CMS were reluctant to accept Bickersteth's analysis but they had little choice as their hands were tied through lack of money.

The Parish Plan established a very specific relationship between the CMS and the Government, and it reaffirmed the belief that Christianity and civilisation went hand in hand. Difficulties emerged, however, when the recaptives' religious understanding and religious practices differed from what was regarded by the missionaries as normal behaviour. Looking back in 1828 Wilhelm, a German CMS missionary, wrote:

> the people are so influenced by their dependence on a Christian government and by the manifest superiority of the European mind, and their constant readiness to conform to our manners that they are generally willing to have the form of Christianity thrown over them if they can obtain that without compliance with its spiritual requirements. The explicit countenance formerly given by the Colonial government to missionary exertions and the long continued connexion between the magisterial and the ministerial characters introduced in early times, an outward observance of the Lord's day which even now when the causes have in a measure ceased to exist gives it the appearance of a sacred season.[44]

Wilhelm saw the danger of what was happening, or rather he saw what was happening and interpreted it as a danger to the church. He felt that the veneer of Christianity that the people took upon themselves was a failing on their part. Wilhelm believed it was the recaptives' inability to recognise the truth of Christianity and their greed to gain the material advantages of the Christian lifestyle without living as true Christians that was the problem. Yet Wilhelm was also aware that part of the failure was that

of the missionaries themselves. In their presentation of Christianity the superiority of the European mind and the belief in God went hand in hand, and there was an obligation to give allegiance to this particular presentation of Christianity in order to enjoy the benefits of the society.

4. The American Contact - Paul Cuffe

MacCarthy recognised that at least three quarters of the population were "dissenters", most of these being in Freetown itself. Freetown remained the home of the Nova Scotian settlers and the stronghold of a political and social thinking that owed a great debt to the experience of life across the Atlantic of both the Nova Scotians and the Maroons. It was the settlers who set the standards of daily Freetown life and inevitably the incoming recaptives were influenced by settler ways and opinions. In the villages where the Parish Plan was in operation the recaptives came face to face with a European tradition of Christianity and a European tradition of living, or at least this was the plan. In Freetown the recaptives met an opposite ideal. The Church and Government were not seen to go hand in hand in Freetown as they did in the villages. Instead there was antipathy towards the Church's involvement in social and political affairs. The Methodism of the Nova Scotians did not take kindly to the close unity of the two. Recaptives were inevitably influenced by what they met in Freetown.

> I have no hesitation in declaring to your Lordship my conviction that this has hitherto been an American and not a British colony.[45]

Governor Thompson's assessment of Sierra Leone in 1809 points to the situation of settler influence that continued to increase during the early years as the recaptives came into the colony until the settlers were well and truly outnumbered by educated and ambitious recaptives.

Since 1784 American traders had visited Sierra Leone on African Trading runs, dollars and cents had been used until Governor Thompson introduced British currency, and

the American spirit of republicanism seemed to dominate the Nova Scotians', and increasingly the Maroons', approach. Some Americans, conscious of their responsibility both in Christian mission and towards the black population in America and in Africa, wrote to Wilberforce to discuss with him the possibility of sending black evangelists to Sierra Leone. Rev W Jenks proposed:

> Is it not then a suggestion of consideration that it may be for the interests of religion so to extend the scale of qualifications for missionary service and to embrace christianised Africans.[46]

The connection with America was further developed when in 1810 Paul Cuffe, a Quaker from Massachusetts, arrived at the colony in his brig, the "Traveller", accompanied by an all black crew. Cuffe heard the then Governor, Columbine, criticise the Nova Scotians as both the inspiration and cause of all trouble within the Colony. At that time there were 982 Nova Scotians, 28 Europeans, 807 Maroons, 100 other Africans and 601 Krumen in the colony, as well as the recaptives.[47] Cuffe sympathised with the position of the Nova Scotians, not only because of the colour bond, but also because they aspired to a trading arrangement that Cuffe found promising. Cuffe rented a house from one of the settlers, Peter Francis. He was also encouraged by the opportunities that the Colony seemed to present particulary with regard to his other great aspiration - the emigration of black Americans back to Africa.

Cuffe looked to John Kizell for help in furthering his plan. Kizell, a Nova Scotian, was a prosperous merchant who had received his first break when the Sierra Leone Company advanced him goods to open a factory at Port Loko.[48] He was a spokesman for his people, and was well respected by them. He had lived in Charlestown, South Carolina, before moving to Nova Scotia and then to the Colony. He was a devout Christian belonging to the Baptist Church. After Paul Cuffe's arrival he (Cuffe), Henry Warren (a Methodist Nova Scotian preacher who came from Philadelphia), Warrick Francis (another merchant preacher of the Baptist congregation), and John Kizell, worshipped together at the Baptist Meeting House. They saw it as a

providential day. A draft of a "Sketch of a Petition to Lay before the People for their Approbation" was drawn up. It contained within it the hope of the American Cuffe and the Nova Scotians - it was the assertion of black independence. The final Draft stated:

> His Excellency Governor Columbine Esqr Governor of His Majesty's Colony Sierra Leone.
>
> We the undersigned do Wish to Lay before your Lordship the following circumstances as under vis.
>
> 1st That Encouragement may be given unto all our Brethren who may Come from the English Colonies or America and become farmers in order to help us to Cultivate the Land.
>
> 2nd our foreign brethren who may have Vessels that Encouragement may be given to them to Establish Commerce in Sierra Leone.
>
> 3rd Would Encouragement be given unto all those Who May Establish the whale fishery in the Colony of Sierra Leone.[49]

The significance of this document lies not only in its content but in the fact that it illustrated once again that it was the religious denominations, working together, which provided the impetus and the backing for the social and economic improvement of the Africans in the Colony.

Perhaps the most remarkable development of this early period was the formation of the Sierra Leone Friendly Society. The Friendly Society's emphasis was on serving "the beneficial good of the universe and glory of God."[50] The correspondence that Cuffe carried to London indicated the path along which the Society wished to tread. While in Sierra Leone Cuffe received an invitation from the noted Quaker, William Allen, in London. Allen encouraged Cuffe's economic propositions and offered him all the support his name could muster.[50] Cuffe left Britain and went back to Sierra Leone. He was warmly welcomed by various merchants and representatives from the churches and from the recently formed Friendly Society. (Cuffe had provided a passage for four members of the Methodist Society in Britain. These four and Cuffe were brought to the Governor's house to meet Governor Maxwell. They also met the chaplain, Nylander).[50]

In a letter written by the Society and entitled, *Epistle from the Society in Sierra Leone, in Africa, to the Saints and Faithful Brethren in Christ*, a discussion of the rights and wrongs of trading was discussed, and proposals made. This society was set to break the European merchants' monopoly.[51] Industry and advancement were placed in a religious setting, and the settlers were encouraged to pray for economic success. The spiritual and the material were united together in a common belief that God would bless those who served him, and that blessing would be reflected in prosperity. The Friendly Society could count among its members, leaders and members from each denomination. Kizell, Warren, Edmonds, Wise and Francis all played an influential part in their own denomination - Warren, Francis and Wise leading secession groups.

It was with the Friendly Society that the plans later associated with Thomas Fowell Buxton were given an initial grounding. It was no new thing to suggest proper trading as a right and just means of Christianising and civilising Africa. Neither was it simply the standard view of British philanthropists. Butscher had advised the CMS and the Governors of the need to develop appropriate alternative trade. Monge Backe, a Chief in Bashia and friend of the missionaries, pleaded with them in 1816 to develop trade:

> Is there nobody that will care for our temporal concerns? The Governor of Sierra Leone abolished the slave trade, burnt all the factories, and permits no slave vessel to come into the river, which we can all bear: but would not the Governor help in another way and set up factories in our land that we may sell our produce.[52]

Olaudah Equiano, an African living in England had published a book in 1789 urging the British to ban slave trading on the grounds of poor economic returns. He argued in his work entitled *The interesting Narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, that it would be far more profitable to the British to sustain legitimate trade in Africa.[53]

If the Society had received more support and encouragement from Britain, and the European traders in Sierra Leone, Buxton might well have been analysing the successful dismantling of the most cruel trade of history rather than still planning how the slave trade could be ended through trade and industry. Kizell wrote to William Allen that, "If we had Factories on the coast to purchase the African produce", the African participation in the slave trade would cease.[54]

The formation and role that the Society played is an indicator of the spiritual temperature of Freetown. Ironically, in its ecumenism it held together denominations that were gradually splitting apart within their own ranks even at this early stage. A new political problem had emerged over the Governor's decision to introduce a new Militia Act. Maxwell, concerned about the state of defences and the threat of attack from neighbouring Africans, planned to develop a new militia.[55] Nova Scotians and Maroons rebelled against an Act that appeared to take away their freedom. Many refused to take the Oath of Allegiance required by the Act. Maxwell ordered that all who did not sign would be outlawed and their property forfeited to the Crown. One hundred Maroons and fourteen Nova Scotians refused, and left the Colony. A number of Maroons went to England to present their case to Granville Sharp.[56] The effect of the Militia rebellion was to draw Nova Scotians and Maroons together in a common defiance of the Government. Cuffe attempted to pacify the situation with his proposals for agriculture and trade, but the animosity towards the Government ran deep.

Church Life in Sierra Leone

All the tensions and disagreements with the Government, the failed plans and the proposed hopes for the future were placed on the churches. In many ways it was too heavy a burden and it took its toll in a variety of breakaway and small independent meetings. Cuffe wrote to Allen describing Freetown religious life:

> There is a church in Sierra Leone, a Methodist called the Great Meeting, and there is a meeting called the Interceding Meeting, which are much the same as the Methodists. There is another Methodist meeting called and kept by Henry Warren, a Blackman from Philadelphia. The meeting is called Christ's Chapel. There is a meeting of the Baptists kept under Warrick Francis. There is an old woman by the name of Mila Baxter keeps at her dwelling house (services) and has done so for many years. Thus it appears that Sierra Leone is, or has, a number of meetings, and those of their members are very attentive to their devotions.[57]

5. The role of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

It is to the Methodists first that we must look in order to understand the nature of Freetown Society and the nature of the Christianity that was developing there. Despite being so well established, the Nova Scotian Methodist Society continually appealed to England for missionaries. The reason had, ironically, more to do with their search for independence than any attempt to give it up. A missionary, an ordained missionary, could and would celebrate the sacrament with them in their own chapel. No longer would they be subjected to attend the Colonial Chaplaincy to participate in this special ritual that according to both Anglican and Methodist Church law could only be administered by one who had undergone the rite of ordination. A missionary, they believed, would break their final link with what appeared as the Establishment. The Government's Chaplain represented in their minds, the Government first and foremost, and then the Anglican Church, both of which had systematically sought to destroy the pledges of freedom and land that they had originally been given.

Thomas Coke, the great organiser of Wesleyan Methodist missions noted, "we received many letters from them beseeching us to send a missionary to the Colony to second their own exertions and to instruct them more fully in the ways of righteousness".[58] Joseph Brown, a settler, had written a letter to Dr Coke asking for a missionary to come to Freetown to care for the group of forty members: "dear Sir, you know money will not procure us a minister and if it would, we have none... we inquire whether you could not send us a pious person who could assist in preaching to the people and in taking charge of our small flock."[59]

The abortive attempt at missionising in 1796 by the Wesleyan Methodist British missionaries remained the only effort until in 1810 George Warren, a circuit preacher in England, offered his services and was sent out to Sierra Leone.[60] Three other men also responded to the appeal for missionaries to pastor the Methodist flock, Healey, Hirst, and Raynar travelled with Warren on Paul Cuffe's brig.[61] While the little book that Thomas Coke wrote, *An Interesting Narrative of a Mission sent to Sierra Leone*, presented a positive picture of the new mission, the reality fell short of the optimism.[62]

The missionaries who were sent out were commissioned to bring the gospel to the Fula people.[63] They never succeeded in carrying out this task. One of the first letters back to Dr Coke is an apology from Healey and Hirst that they were unable to fulfil their original purpose to go to the surrounding peoples.[64]

Instead the missionaries became involved in the main society of Freetown, which was known as the Great Meeting. Joseph Brown and Moses Wilkinson were both referred to as still taking part in the services of the Great Meeting that they were responsible for beginning in 1792, even though by this stage Wilkinson was very old and Brown was very ill. Two others, Prince Stober and Joseph Jewett, who played a major role in Methodism in later years, had begun their contributions by reading sermons. Henry Warren and his splinter group rejoined the main Society once the missionaries had arrived.[65]

By 1814 membership had increased to 107, though Moses Wilkinson had, according to a letter written to Blanshard, left and joined another society.[66] Dissension between the missionaries and the settlers had begun and was to continue for over half a century.[67]

The missionaries suffered. They had insufficient financial support and were forced to sell Warren's clothes and watch after his death, (some eight months from coming into the Colony), in order to get some money. Their accommodation was poor.[68] They lacked an itinerant preacher, whose main function was to travel around the various

societies, leaving them free to attend to the school which they saw as their most significant task. With all their problems their output to the Colony was less than their potential. The Methodist school that they had commenced was united with the government school and Healey and Hirst received government salaries as teachers.

The first era of mission activity ended in disillusionment and chaos as Healey and Hirst tried to leave the Colony but were forced back on a ship that returned to harbour with a leak. The salaries that the government had paid them as schoolteachers had been withdrawn. The Nova Scotian Methodist Society in Freetown, had not seen fit to spend its money on supporting them when they witnessed the CMS supporting its own missionaries. The Missionary Committee in London were horrified at the amounts the missionaries were asking for, having assumed that the missionaries would adopt the pattern of itinerant preachers in Britain: that of being supported by the circuit in which they were working. No clear decisions were taken by anyone on their behalf, until William Davies, another Methodist arrived in 1815. Taking stock of the situation, Davies ordered the fevered Healey back to England and organised Hirst's reappointment to his post as First Government Schoolmaster. Later Hirst became superintendent of Regent, one of the villages created to house the recaptives, bringing to this village his experience of Methodism.

Missionary activity among the Methodists in Sierra Leone must be understood in the context of this first venture of assistance from Britain. It contained within it all the pitfalls and tensions that characterised the relations between the two societies in the following years. Insufficient money, misunderstanding over tasks, inability to carry out work due to lack of personnel, association with government, and clashes of temperament all amalgamated to create an environment in which European Methodist leaders were scorned by their Nova Scotian sister congregations.

Like Warren, Davies found a religious language and a religious activity that he was familiar with. He knew of the need to "mourn for sin", "to groan for full redemption" and "to seek for liberty", and he appreciated that Heaven's gates would only open to

those who sought and found salvation in Christ Jesus. Davies could write describing how:

> in their band meetings and love feasts the Spirit is poured out in such abundance that they are at a loss as to how to express themselves, their joy on these occasions is indeed unspeakable.[69]

Davies did not question the authenticity of the Nova Scotians' Christian convictions. He may well have seen a repetition of what he had heard repeated of the glorious days of the Wesleyan revivals in England. When he reported back to London he never felt the need to explain their Christian expressions. It was their dislike of the government that he found incomprehensible. Davies never understood and never accepted the differences that he continually faced. Despite his enthusiasm for the Methodist doctrines and policies that he had espoused in his Welsh village, doctrines and policies that were the reason for his presence in Sierra Leone, he was regarded by the Nova Scotians with suspicion, as one who was not a true Methodist. The problem was connected with his attitude towards the Government and the Colonial Chaplain at the time, the Rev Leopold Butscher. Bickersteth, the CMS representative who came to Sierra Lone in 1816 praised Davies:

> There are several places of worship not belonging to the Establishment: the principal of which is one under the care of the Rev Mr Davies, who is a highly respectable, zealous, and excellent minister of the Methodist Connexion, who has done so much good in the Colony, and has always shown himself friendly to the Established Church.[70]

Davies and Butscher worked together. On occasions when Davies administered the sacrament in the Methodist chapel, he gave out the bread and the Rev Butscher gave the wine. Once a quarter, he wrote, all the methodists "go to church and he gives the bread and I the wine." Both together baptised children at the government school.[71] The Nova Scotian Methodists were unhappy with Davies' ecumenism.

Davies uncovered the source of the problem when he recognised the reason for the tensions that existed:

> ...when we arrived here we found Methodism very low indeed in the esteem of Government and the European Gentlemen in the Colony. My dear departed Jane's and my own conduct somehow or other pleased the most respectable part of the Community, in consequent thereof some got jealous. As far as I can judge, most of our leaders are of the American Republican spirit and are strongly averse to Government, I am a loyal subject to my King and wish to do the little I can for the support of that Government especially in a foreign part where there are not so many able advocates as at home.[72]

The tension grew to such a peak that the settler leaders, angry at Davies' usurpation of power, protested. Davies wrote that they accused him of "lording it over them, of being too proud for a Methodist Preacher, and paying too much attention to the government".[73]

A charge of immorality was brought against Davies in 1817 by a woman who was a member of the Society in Freetown. The settler trustees of the Chapel wrote to him informing him that he could not "enter the pulpit till he had cleared his character from the aspersion cast upon it."[74] The chief Justice and Mayor exonerated Davies from the charge, but the leaders in the chapel, while accepting that the woman's testimony was invalid, still insisted that they could not trust themselves to his superintendency any longer. They cited his temper as the reason.[75] At the same time as this was happening Davies wrote back to the Methodist Headquarters surveying his own position:

> I am now the senior alderman in Freetown and a Justice of the Peace. I objected as much as I could to both without giving offence to the Government for His Excellency has been and continues to be a father to me.[76]

Davies was removed to Leopold Town where he was employed by the government as a manager and school teacher: he held night and Sunday School for the recaptives.

Davies' perception of the role of the school in the Colony had been another source of grievance between him and the Methodist Society. On arriving in the Colony and assessing what he saw as the educational needs of the people, Davies decided that a

more general school catering for incoming recaptives was much more appropriate than a school solely for the children of those within the Methodist Society, the majority of whom were settler and able to pay for their children's education. The Society had held on to their school as a symbol of their authority and independence, and Davies' change of plan was seen as another indication, not of Christian altruism, but of stolen independence.

At Leopold, Davies enjoyed the freedom of his combined role of parish superintendent. By November 1817 he was reporting 50-60 people under "serious impressions and in the greatest concern for their salvation" and between two and three hundred attending the services.[77] This was happening at the same time as William Johnson, another CMS missionary, in the village just along the path was experiencing a similar enthusiasm for church, with high attendances and many expressing their desire for salvation.

Samuel Brown was initially sent out to assist Davies in his work, but ended up as the only Methodist missionary in Freetown. Brown stayed with the Freetown Methodists, preaching in the meeting house twice on Sunday, giving a lecture to children on Monday evenings, preaching on Wednesday evenings, and holding prayer meetings every morning and on two evenings a week. He was later joined by John Huddlestone, another Methodist from Britain.

Attendances at the services were high - there was often not enough room for everyone, particularly when the recaptives started to attend:

> our recaptured people from the villages attend on the Sabbath mornings, and, influenced by the cleanly habits of the Nova Scotians and Maroons, make a decent appearance which does credit to the religion they profess.[78]

In 1814 a group of Portuguese speaking recaptives had been settled in Pa Demba town. It was renamed Portuguese Town, and there some of the itinerant Nova Scotian Methodist preachers went. The Methodist Missionary Report of 1819 notes that after

a short spell of preaching in the "heathen Portuguese town" where the residents were unmarried, unbaptised, sunk in superstition, fornication and every vice, some of the residents became Christian. Gradually people were "awakened to a sense of sin and danger" and were "anxious to be baptised." The absence of a church was the source of complaint for the members who told Brown, "Other towns had house for God". Shortly after a church was built.[79]

A Chapel at Soldiers' Town was also erected for a small congregation drawn from among the soldiers of the disbanded African Corps and in 1819 those at Congo Town were collecting money to enable them to build a chapel.

By 1818 there were 150 in attendance at the main or Great Meeting, held at Rawdon Street, in which Samuel Brown participated:

> At our last quarter's visitation of the classes, we had one hundred and fifty persons in Society, and forty five on trial. About ninety are Nova Scotian settlers, or their children, twenty Maroons, forty recaptured Natives, and the probationers are chiefly of that description.
>
> Our congregation in Freetown is generally greater than our chapel there can well contain. And the congregations at Soldiers' Town and Portuguese Town are encouraging, usually at the former fifty to a hundred attend and at the latter from thirty to eighty.[80]

The numbers increased during the period 1819-20 when several were seen to gain "gospel liberty" and joined the society. At the various love feasts there were attendances of over 200 and according to Brown five or six would often rise to speak at once in the meetings to share their experiences.[81] The number of members in the whole Society, including Soldiers', Portuguese and Congo town, was given as 466, with Wise, Jewett, Stober, Robertson, Carrols, Jones, Huddlestone, Wilson, Frazer, Jones (jn) and Brown all conducting classes. But despite the fact that only Huddlestone and Brown were Europeans, Huddlestone wrote to London on reading of the Society's plan to use black men as missionaries:

> I am persuaded that such a step is not for the benefit of the people. I know not, yet this we observe that for black men the stations of preachers greatly impresses them though they might have been good men before yet so shallow are their minds that anything like promotion makes them as full of self as they can hold. We have several now in the colony of different persuasions and it is observable to every brother that their heads are full of pride. As private christians they are many of them ornaments to the christian profession, raise them and you loose them.[82]

By the time that Lane arrived to assist Huddlestone the tension between the settlers and the white missionaries had become even worse. George Lane noted:

> On my arrival here I found between 3 - 400 members in the Society and I also found that they were instructed by a body of factious leaders who in many points of discipline asked to differ from the missionaries and who endeavoured to oppose many efforts by which the work must have been regulated and benefited.[83]

Lane anticipated the second denouncement of the missionaries but failed to take action to prevent it occurring. The missionaries from the beginning referred to the main society as "our society" despite it having been there long before the missionaries set foot in the land. The settler methodists decided to call their bluff, and claim back what they believed was rightfully theirs.

John Huddlestone's contempt for the Africans' lack of order and discipline was reflected in his attitude to organisation. Huddlestone had tried to enforce British rules on the society but the Nova Scotians claimed that they had their own rules, and their own leadership in a committee of trustees. The question of to whom the new chapel belonged brought to the fore some of the unspoken disagreements and problems between the two groups. The question was raised in a secret meeting called by James Wise, a leading Nova Scotian member of the chapel.

Huddlestone and his assistant, getting to hear of the meeting, burst in and ordered everyone home. Met with a blank refusal, Huddlestone took the brash action of dissolving the society. Lane in his journal reported the whole incident to London informing them that Wise had endeavoured to represent the leaders and the people

under their influence as an "independent body of people of all other Methodists in the world." When Huddlestone and Lane insisted that the Methodists in Sierra Leone were a branch of those in England and should be governed as such, Wise denounced them, telling them that they would have nothing to do with either the Methodist Committee or the missionaries. He announced, "We have nothing to do with the Missionary Committee or you. If you, the missionaries cannot agree with us you had better go back to some other place."[84]

A wrangle ensued which, after various people had sought and failed to solve, was brought to Governor MacCarthy. MacCarthy's decision was to follow the law, and so in January 1822 he acknowledged the right of the Nova Scotians to occupy the chapel. The Nova Scotians of Rawdon Street reconstituted themselves as a separate society, independent of the British Methodists.[85]

James Wise was removed from his position as preacher in 1826, because of his refusal to adhere to the rules and regulations of the trustees. The following year he rejoined the Wesleyan Methodist group, along with 22 others, and became active in starting a mission at York among the newly arrived disbanded soldiers. These were soldiers of the Royal African Corps, who after the Headquarters and five companies of the West India Regiment took over the Freetown Garrison in 1819, found themselves disbanded. About one thousand settled in and around Freetown, in Gibraltar town, in Wellington, and further along the coast in York, Kent and Hastings.[86]

In 1818 Brown had written to London giving his regular report of the mission's work:

> Our little congregation at the West end of Freetown in the old school house is broken up as the temporary place has fallen into ruins but the Maroons are building a stone chapel at this end of the town which in the space of 12 months, I doubt not will be finished and will add strength to our mission and increase our labours. They are a vigorous and persevering people and their erection and settlement of their chapel on the conference plan, (which I trust, will be done), will provoke to holy jealousy the Nova Scotians in carrying on with the spirit of building that they have begun at the East end of Freetown.[87]

The society at the Maroon Chapel was eventually completed. Huddlestone reported back to the Methodist headquarters that both the Maroons and "their countrymen" in Sierra Leone had contributed 10s per month towards the building. Stephen Gabiddon, the principal Maroon and a prominent and successful businessman in Freetown, was the Committee organiser for the building and it was he who insisted that the ground upon which the chapel was built had been given as a gift to the Maroons and therefore the Maroons had all power in deciding who should be involved in the services. The Maroons carefully spelt out their independent status, claiming that the "Lord ruled in their head", by which they meant to act and that the Methodist Body in England had nothing to do with them and that "they were under no obligation to the Missionary Committee".[88]

An agreement was drawn up by the principal Maroons and the Methodist Conference in England stipulating the degree of control that each had:

> The trustees are the actual owners of the chapel.
>
> The trustees will leave the chapel to the exclusive right of the missionaries.
>
> At the expiation of 14 years the Conference shall yield up into the hands of the Trustees.
>
> Each person shall have a seat if he has subscribed to the building.
>
> Trustees shall hold trustee meetings in the chapel.
>
> Cleaning provided by the preachers.
>
> Superintendent preachers have the exclusive right of appointing preachers and preachers have the rights of enforcing all the rules of the Society.[89]

The Rawdon Street Chapel, built by the settlers in 1798, had given financial assistance to the Maroons in the building of their chapel only to find that the Maroons after taking the aid struck out independently and proclaimed that the church would be "open to whoever they may chose to preach in it."[90]

The society at the Maroon chapel was composed almost entirely of Maroons and some recaptives, a total of 226 attended in 1822.[91] The following year the attendance had

risen to almost 600. From this period onwards the reports of the missionaries involve the Maroon chapel and the smaller chapels in the suburbs. Rawdon Street does not gain a mention. The 1821 report of the Society published in the *Missionary Register* surveys the Wesleyan Missionary Society as having 172 members in four churches - Congo Town, Soldiers' Town, Portuguese Town and West End.[92]

Two pictures of early Freetown emerge. There is that of a society full of religious denominations, a society exploring the potential of trade and making progress in free enterprise, and there is the picture of a society where the rules and traditions of the various West African peoples represented there amalgamated to create boundaries within which all those of African birth felt secure.

Methodism attracted the recaptives; it was a versatile expression of Christianity; it was the religion of the majority of the people from Nova Scotia, and therefore, initially at least, the most accessible to the incoming black recaptives. Perhaps if MacCarthy had not established a system that gave the CMS the control of not only the churches but the policies and law of the villages, Sierra Leone would have emerged as the first Methodist country. Rawdon Street Chapel, which became known as the West African Methodist Society, evangelised effectively among the recaptives and within a few years West African Methodist chapels were being built in Freetown and the villages.

6. The Missionary Understanding of their Contribution to Krio Christianity

The role the various missionaries performed in contributing to the development of the religious ideas in Sierra Leone was two-fold. The missionaries perceived that their first task was to make the people Christian, to convert them from darkness into light.

The Missionary Register for 1818 makes the following comment, a comment that would have appealed to the hearts of all its readers. Speaking of the Church at Leicester village:

> The site commands a most extensive view of the town, harbour and sea. It will stand as a LAND-MARK OF CHRISTIANITY. The sailor, on seeing its spire from afar, will return praise to his God, and bless his Country for having thus afforded as Asylum to the oppressed African. The view of a Church on BRITISH ground in Africa, proclaims the liberty of the subject. Where TRUE Christianity reigns, Slavery is banished![93]

It was these principles that were foremost in the mind of each of the missionaries who volunteered to undergo a journey of which there was no promise of return. The spirit of mission was very much the one of sacrifice and nothing was too much to sacrifice for the cause of Christ. He himself had sacrificed His life.

Surveying the development of the missionary input in Sierra Leone Johnson, one of the CMS missionaries, wrote in 1818:

> One of the greatest dangers, perhaps, to which we are exposed in Africa, is the loss of that heartfelt desire and expectation of seeing the Heathen converted, with which we set out. O Sirs, pray for all you have sent or will send to Africa, that we may not fall into such a dreadful mistake, as to think that Conversion is to be looked for only at a remote period, and that Civilisation is all that can be at present expected.[94]

This heartfelt desire to see the "heathen" brought from darkness into light was presented in the letters and reports that the missionaries sent back to London for publishing in the various *Missionary Registers* and *Journals*. Story after story of natives dying happy in the Lord, and the remarkable effects produced on the Liberated Negroes by the blessing of God on that system of instruction and discipline which is pursued with them in the settlement.[95]

The missionaries believed that Christian worship in the churches in Sierra Leone would assume a similar form to the worship in Anglican and Methodist churches in Britain, and Germany. Their task therefore, was to teach the recaptives the pattern of hymns, prayers, the liturgy, in order that they could sustain the church. Just as an appropriate legal system, an education system, an effective monetary system etc, were introduced, each following the British system, so too a Church system was established.

Their second task was very much tied up with their first - to establish a Christian civilised society. Christianity could not exist in its proper form unless features of a civilised community existed alongside it. Christianity, of necessity, gave birth to the features of civilisation - orderliness, tidiness in dress, manner and custom and industry. How the missionaries understood these tasks and how they went about instilling them had important repercussions for the development of Christianity in Sierra Leone. To Bultmann:

> the want of Civilisation is as mighty a barrier in the way of domestic happiness and conjugal fidelity and love as the want of knowledge is to the establishment of vital religion among them.[96]

The missionary impact on the recaptives provides a story of both success and failure, the result of the meeting of two different perceptions of Christianity.

In a letter written in 1839 by Governor William Fergusson, to Thomas Fowell Buxton a description is given of the various stratifications of Freetown society as an indication of the progression of Christianity among the various peoples in Sierra Leone:

> the most recently arrived liberated Africans live in mud huts, petty traders and skilled workers occupy framed houses, the more successful live in framed houses raised on a stone foundation... several books are to be seen lying about chiefly of a religious character and the general air of domestic comfort pervades the whole which perhaps more than anything else gives evidence of the enhanced state of intelligence at which they have arrived.[97]

The books of a religious character represented the degree to which the people had climbed from their state of barbarism to the position of civilisation as the Governor understood it. D J East, writing in 1844, reiterated this position when he noted that true civilisation and Christianity are inseparable.

> No man can become a Christian in the true sense of the term, however savage he may have been before, without becoming a civilised man. Christianity teaches the practice of humanity, purity of heart and life.... These are the elements of a civilisation of the highest order.

> These doctrines cannot exist in force in any community without the moral and social well-being of that community being greatly promoted.[98]

In the early 19th century missionary view Christianity was the precursor of the truly civilised man. The savage state of barbarity was the proof and indication of original sin at work, and the only means of rescue from this savage state were to be found in the doctrines of Christian redemption from the power of sin and hell.

In *A Series of Letters from a Young Lady to her Sister 1832-34*, the young lady, Miss Catherine Temple, records meeting Mrs Carew, one of the recaptive women and commenting to her on her great wealth:

> She told me with very proper gratitude where it was due; that she always remembered from what she had risen, that she came here without a farthing but that by God's blessing on her industry, and the assistance of kind friends she had brought up a large family and was at present very well in the world, that her eldest daughter was going to be married and that one of her sons was educating in London.[99]

Taught by the missionaries of both societies to see the standard of Christianity within the frame work of the civilised society, the recaptives developed an understanding of society that was determined by a preconceived idea of God's blessings. Many of the missionaries saw these blessings as the inevitable result and the proof of the Christian conversion. Their whole outlook was influenced by this position, and their method of mission demonstrated their concern to effect it. The secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Thomas Beecham, later wrote the same sentiments in a report of the missionaries in Sierra Leone:

> No sooner does the gospel begin to operate upon the mind of the heathen, than it leads to the first step in civilisation. The people, having become desirous of hearing the gospel preached, find it necessary to renounce wandering lives.... Industry becomes necessary for them to maintain themselves. Education, which is another step in the process of civilisation, naturally follows.
>
> Then again, the gospel enjoins all to be merciful and forgiving to one another, and thus the end is put to violence and deeds of blood. Thus it is that we trace the connexion between civilisation and Christianity and reach the conclusion, that, wherever the gospel exerts its legitimate influence, civilisation most naturally and necessarily follows.[100]

Later in the century there was a recognition of what in fact was happening. *The Spectator*, 22 September 1866, noted:

> the evangelists are taking not just Christianity to the natives but their own form of Christian civilisation,[101]

but in the early years of missionary activity no-one questioned this, indeed everyone believed that it was the way forward for Africa.

The *Register* took delight in informing its readers that:

> it is in our Liberated African Towns that the richest enjoyment awaits the arrival of the philanthropist. There he may contemplate, with delight, the happy fruits of that system, the primary features of which is Religious Instruction - and with, and proceeding from, that instruction, the inculcation of moral and industrious habits - the superiority of the mountain roads - the cleanness and respectable appearances of the Villages: - but, above all, the immense forests cleared away, and the soil covered with the various productions of the climate, fully attest the unremitting industry of these interesting people; while the buildings erected in the respective Villages, solely by the Negroes themselves, mark their capability and improvement as artificers.[102]

7. The Actual Situation

The CMS influence on the development of the churches in Sierra Leone cannot be understood without appreciating the degree to which pressure was placed on the missionaries, from both outside forces and their own very diverse interpretations of their experience of Christianity, to follow through this particular ideology of success, and to impart it to the churches.

The actual number of European missionaries living in the colony at any one time was very small, due both to the high death rate of white people and the small numbers volunteering for missionary service. The "White Man's Grave" took its toll of the white population; numerous missionary reports back to London consist of descriptions of illness, pleas for help and death notices of wives, husbands and children.

Missionaries were often preaching while in a state of pain. Davies writes plaintively about his situation in Leopold:

> Four Sundays when, from the boils on my body, I was unable to stand or sit but I had sufficient strength to perform the services as I lay on a sofa which, together with myself, was carried to the church.[103]

The 1820 *Missionary Register*, in its survey on Western Africa, deals with the all too common deaths:

> The Rains began very early. One of the new comers, Mr Barrett, soon fell a victim. He died on the 10 May, viewing death with perfect composure; and assuring his friends, that he did not repent of coming to Africa....
>
> On the 7th of July, Mrs Jesty, after being delivered of a still-born child, departed in the triumph of Faith....
>
> On the 23rd of the same month, this valuable woman was followed by Mr Cates, a man whose talents and devotedness gives the highest promise of usefulness in his Master's service among these injured Tribes...
>
> On Sunday the 1st of August, the Rev John Collier, who had succeeded the late Rev W Garnon as First Chaplain of the Colony, "closed his eyes", says Mr Renner, "at half past ten in the morning, at the time when he usually stood up, in the service of his Master, beseeching this people, in Christ's stead, to be reconciled unto God" - but unable, from debility, to notice things around him.
>
> On the 10th of August, this melancholy list of Christian Labourers was closed by Mr Gilleson; who departed in the full assurance of the Faith, praising God that he found Christ precious to him in his dying hours.[104]

Their struggle was a difficult one. The 1820s were years of death. The 1823 register noted that Wilhelm, Beckhauer, Taylor, Mr and Mrs Davey, Tamba, Noah, Mrs Palmer, Mrs During and Mrs Beckley all fell ill. On the 13 May 1822 Nylander wrote:

> I can assure you I have not seen a season like this, since I have been in the Colony. I saw a note from a workman in the King's Carpenter's shop wherein he said, "There is nothing but makings of coffins going on in our shop - three or four a day.[105]

The Rev Henry Palmer, the newly appointed second chaplain to the Colony died, Samuel Flood, the missionary stationed in Freetown and his wife both became

seriously ill, left to return but died *en route*, as did William Johnson. Living conditions were uncomfortable, particularly during the rainy season. The *Liberated African Letter Books* make mention of the conditions that some of the missionaries were subjected to:

> I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter reporting the dilapidated state of the small Government home occupied by the Rev W Betts of Kent.[106]

Other problems had emerged for earlier missionaries:

> but a few days ago a leopard met our Brother Renner at the Bottom of the staircase.[107]

The tendency to succumb to depression was high; lack of orientation to the different culture; the absence of loved ones, indeed often the death of family; and the feeling of incompetence in the face of tasks that appeared too mighty to perform, all added to the classic causes of depression. Those who could not cope either retreated from their public positions or resorted to alcohol to relieve some of the pressures. Wenzel, sent out in 1809 to the Bulom Shore, and then to Kissy, resorted to this means. His condition had become so serious by 1818 that he was removed to Freetown, but any drying out programme that the missionaries might have attempted never got off the ground; Wenzel died from the effects of alcohol abuse. When Wenzel died, MacCarthy secured the transfer of Nylander back from the Bulom Shore to Freetown, against Nylander's wishes. Nylander was positioned at Kissy. As Peterson notes, Nylander, though never becoming part of the parish plan, became its most reasoned and respected critic.[108]

By 1817 Sierra Leone was divided into 8 parishes where missionaries from the CMS worked. The parish of St George embraced Freetown and its immediate vicinity; St Andrew's was in Gloucester Town; St James, Bathurst town; St Peter's, Leopold town; St John, Charlotte town; St Charles, Regent Town; St Paul's, Wilberforce; and St Patrick in Kissy town. By 1819 the number had gone up to 9 with the addition of the

Parish of St Edward at Cape Shilling. Few of the superintendents were content with their work, or rather with their workload. Renner, after 16 years in the Colony, wrote a letter of desperation to the CMS Secretary from Leopold, the village in which he was stationed:

> many a time one is almost worn out with settling the different palavers amongst rude people and one gets almost out of humour to attend school keeping.[109]

In 1817 Charles Decker arrived in the Colony. MacCarthy immediately sent Decker to become school master and superintendent of Wilberforce. New to the job, Decker was unable to handle the accounting connected with his personal expenses and his business expenditure and soon he ran into heavy debt, borrowing from dubious characters. He was finally removed from Wilberforce and sent as an assistant to the further reaches of the peninsula in the village of Kent.[110]

The duties of the CMS missionaries grew with the increasing numbers of recaptives who arrived in the colony. However there were success stories, despite the tensions; the *Recaptive Letter Book* for 1820 makes note of the state of one of the villages and the work of the missionary, Horton, and his assistant William Tamba, originally a catechist of Johnson's appointment, a "Native Teacher", in effecting a change:

> On your first settling at Bathurst I perfectly recollect the disorganised state of the village and the little progress that the inhabitants had made in the Acts of civilised life, the former arising from its being newly laid out, together with the ineffectual superintendence which the best exertions of His Excellency, Governor MacCarthy has been able to procure. In the short space of the two years that you have resided, Bathurst has assumed altogether a new appearance, and the inhabitants a Christian character and both may now vie with any of the neighbouring establishments settled around the same period.[111]

There were never enough missionaries in the colony to attend to all the people, and so many of the recaptives first heard the Christian message through Nova Scotian preachers and joined churches established by the Nova Scotians.

The CMS missionaries worked in their various villages amidst considerable hardship until MacCarthy's own death in 1824, when the CMS as a whole asked to be released from the agreement of superintendency of the villages. Nylander's comments on the changes are revealing:

> It is rumoured that the Society has lately made such arrangements with Government, that Clergymen, Schoolmasters, and Superintendents are to be all different persons, and each to attend to their respective duties. This is a very excellent regulation indeed: but permit me to ask, if the Committee are aware, that thereby they make themselves liable to a very great expense; for there is no place - I mean among the liberated African villagers where there is more than one house and that is the Superintendents. Clergymen and Schoolmasters have either to hire or build houses for themselves. The society may therefore prepare, either to hire or build houses in each place where the Missionaries are to be stationed. Even Native assistants have no houses allowed them.[112]

The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry which arrived in Freetown in 1825 reported to the Colonial office that the conditions in the Colony were intolerable. They were forced to conclude in their report that the oldest villages were in so neglected a state that little useful information could be gained from them as to the progress of Christianity.[113] The Government was left with the responsibility for education in the districts outside the town after the CMS pulled out. A new plan for the wellbeing of the recaptives was adopted by Governor Turner who replaced the superintendents with government managers, few of whom had any connection with any of the churches. By 1828 W K Betts could write:

> education and civil government of villages are not under the authority and direction of clergy men but under managers and submanagers many of whom need to attend in the schools rather than direct them.[114]

Later Governors tried to encourage a system similar to that which MacCarthy had been so instrumental in creating but, the personnel were never again available for such close cooperation with government policies. In the *Liberated African Book* for 1831 there is a record of instructions given by the Governor to John Thorpe, the manager at Waterloo village, instructions which reflect the wish to copy the original plan of MacCarthy:

> It is expected that you will regularly attend divine service at least once on the Sabbath, and, in the absence of a clergyman, you must read the service yourself or cause it to be read by the senior teacher, it is also your duty to see that constables and all others receiving pay from the Government also punctually attend.[115]

In 1824 Nylander wrote to the Secretary describing the situation in the Colony:

> We have long since heard of the Rev Mr Raban's being appointed to the Colony but no missionaries or schoolmaster have yet arrived. The Colony is really in a miserable state for want of ministers and teachers.[116]

He continued later on in the same correspondence:

> We are in the most deplorable state for want of a sufficient number of Christian teachers. Regent's town - to say but little on the subject - loses ground daily, the Christian Institute must break up of itself, if no teachers come from England to our assistance. Freetown has been without a chaplain since May 1823.[117]

The change in policy, brought about by lack of financial and personnel resources rather than a change in philosophy, created a situation where, once again, all churches and missions stood on equal footing. Their popularity or decline became a matter connected with the popularity of their specific church traditions and format of worship, and the extent to which the Christian message provided stimulus and conviction.

8. Missionary Methods

Missionaries from the CMS recognised that the Methodist system of classes was a productive and effective means by which to teach and encourage those interested in the church. The CMS adopted the class system themselves. Betts reported to London that in York he found a "large and interesting congregation chiefly consisting of those baptised Africans who have formed themselves into a body under the superintendence of their Class Leaders, after the method of the Wesleyans".[118] The CMS in their *Summary of Principles* had indicated the desirability of adopting the method of classes

used by the Wesleyans as an alternative and suitable means of control within the churches.[119]

Besides the classes organised for instruction, missionaries from both the Methodist Society and the CMS held regular Sunday services, at least twice and often three and four times on a Sunday. During notes that on the first Sunday on which he preached, only three people in some measure understood him and were able to tell the others what he had said. Of his method of preaching he said:

> At first I preached regularly every evening; but seeing the people got dull of hearing, I altered my plan, and omitted every other evening... I read the word of God to them, which enables many to know passages of Scripture by heart, and teaches those who can read to make use of their Bibles at home.[120]

and of another occasion he said:

> Sunday Services with my negroes we observe as follows: we first sing a Hymn, of which they are very fond. Then I read part of the Liturgy with them, which those who understand a little English very much delight in. Between the two Lessons we sing a verse of a hymn and again after I have done reading prayers.[121]

Taylor, preaching in the village of Charlotte, in January 1919 established a similar routine to During:

> Many of them do not understand English, and others so little that, when I speak to them, it is with great difficulty that I make myself understood: so that although many frequent the means of grace, yet few fully comprehend what they hear.
>
> We have regular Meetings, for prayer and reading the Scriptures; at six in the morning and at seven in the evening. In the evening I speak to those present, in the name of Jesus, warning them to flee from the wrath to come, and to pray to him for pardon and salvation.
>
> On Sundays we meet early in the morning as on other days for prayer and reading the scriptures, after which we have service three times at each of which times I endeavour to speak to them of Christ.[122]

The sermons of the missionaries, both CMS and Methodist, centred on the need for salvation from Heathen Darkness:

> The Bible leaves no excuse for the least of sinners when it plainly declares that the wrath of God is revealed in Heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. This plainly shows that there is no excuse, but the least as well as the greatest of sinners is on the way that will end in everlasting destruction. You comfort yourself that plenty people will go to Hell with you. Suppose you and plenty of people were shut up in a large house out of which it were impossible for any to escape and that house was set on fire, would it comfort you because plenty of people perish in eternal flames? So the Wicked in torment, all and everyone of them, when they shall see the end of their own folly and shall be filled with the terrors of the Almighty and complain with the rich man in the gospel, I am tormented in this flame, shall say to one another, Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire, who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? yet this all will not comfort them but aggravate their torment.[123]

i. The Pattern of Behaviour that the Missionaries expected to find

The missionaries earnestly desired to see the "conversion of the Heathen". Their letters, the missionary reports published in the *Missionary Registers*, the work of the Missionary Societies in Britain, and the donation of the class pence or its equivalent for the support of the missionaries all pointed to the end goal - a Christian country in West Africa that would be an instrument in bringing other African peoples to God. Beckley's prayer at the 1825 Missionary Association in Freetown captures their desire:

> I pray God the Holy Spirit will bless the bringing of them to repentance which with the continual wrestling of God's people at the throne of Grace for the conversion of the heathen we should daily see Satan falling and the House of the Holy One raised on the ruins of sins' demolished home.[124]

The missionaries expected to see a particular pattern of behaviour as they prayed for the downfall of Satan. There would be, they hoped, a display of interest among the recaptives concerning the things of God, and following this a concern to attend the services and preparation classes where the substance of the faith was taught in preparation for the rite of baptism which provided entry into the Church. Baptism required a "credible profession of faith". No judgement was necessarily made on whether or not a person was regenerate. There was the expectation that through the

attendance to the means of grace within the Church, and the hope that conviction of sin would lead to the baptised church member displaying the signs of "vital godliness", the proof of conversion. Both Methodist and CMS missionaries eagerly exhorted their members to seek after godliness, warning them of the evil of sin and praying that they would be found with that holy sorrow that indicated a real understanding of the faith.

Warburton is pleased to report that he had witnessed the "work of Divine Grace begun in the hearts of two individuals who appear to be awakened to a sense of their sinful, dangerous and helpless state and to an earnest desire for the salvation of their souls",[125] and Metzger rejoices that some were struck by the "horror of their sins". Young, ministering at Kissy alongside Metzger, noted in a letter to London:

> I have been able in some measure to mark the gradual progress of the work of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of those persons since they were put under my instruction. Their steady and constant attendance on the means of instructions and other "means of Grace" together with their consistent work and conversation in the eyes of their countrymen, and constant attendance on the Public Worship of our God, has been truly pleasing to me.[126]

Robert Beckley, the Colonial School teacher, noted in his report to the CMS Secretary:

> of an inward work I am led to cherish some very fond hopes, the attendance upon the means of grace is still encouraging and by some regular, a few of whom I have great hopes will afore long come forward to confess Christ crucified. Among some school children I am pleased to observe much seriousness, of late I have found them in the act of secret devotion; when this begins to work its evidences what will follow it is a planting by the Holy Spirit which will bring forth fruit to the praise and the glory of God.[127]

The CMS placed great emphasis on the need for "Instruction in the Faith", for it was, they believed, only through the catechetical classes that the recaptives could come to a proper understanding of the articles of the faith. Kissling notes in his midsummer report for 1834 that natives at Kissy church came to him with idols asking to be allowed to attend meetings to get acquainted with the way of salvation.[128] These meetings - preparation classes - were conducted by the minister or by a native assistant

and during them interested persons would learn the creed, the Lord's prayer, the Commandments and certain passages of Scripture.

Special meetings called "God Palavers" were held by the inhabitants of Kissy and other villages. Steadmann, the CMS missionary there, wrote of the result of these services:

> The consequence is, that the people, after a time become awakened, and manifest to all around that they have rejected heathenism, by confessing themselves desirous of becoming Candidates for Baptism. These meetings I have long been persuaded form the very ground on which the prosperity of this station exists.[129]

To be accepted as a candidate for baptism, a recaptive had to give a credible profession of his faith. After indicating a desire to be baptised the candidates met with the CMS missionary or with a recaptive catechist for a series of instruction classes at the end of which, if the recaptives' professions remained credible and their relationships with others were acceptable, they were baptised. For example, one recaptive was told that he would be baptised after he married the woman he was living with:

> A young man came to me a few days before Mr Butscher came, desirous to be baptized. I told him that he could not be admitted, because he had lived with a woman in the country fashion.... I proposed that he might be baptised and come to the Table, if he would be married at the same time. A heavy burden appeared to fall from his heart - his sad countenance was turned into a smiling one, and accordingly he was baptised, admitted to the Lord's Table, and married within the space of two hours.[130]

The candidates were examined before the whole congregation, "Before the administration of the ordinance," Johnson wrote, "I questioned the candidates who stood in a line before the reading desk, on Regeneration, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Holy Trinity and the Fall and Recovery of man. I then explained to them the questions and answers in the prayerbooks, and baptised them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the sprinkling of water the candidates

were invited to partake of the Lord's supper and henceforth to regard themselves as full members of the church."[131]

MacCarthy saw baptism as a means of establishing those recaptives, who appeared to have accepted the ways and means of European civilisation, as good citizens. In an interview with Johnson, MacCarthy went so far as to threaten contacting the Archbishop of Canterbury to ensure that Johnson did his duty and baptised all those who came to him. In his diary Johnson records the incident:

> His Excellency the Governor came here today... He wished I would baptise more people. I told him I could not, unless God first baptised their hearts. He said that the reason so many were baptised on the day of Pentecost, was, that the Apostles despised none. I replied that they were pricked in their heart and I was willing to baptise all who were thus pricked in heart. He thought baptism an act of civilisation, and that it was our duty to make them all Christians. He spake in great warmth about these things and I endeavored to show him through scripture passages, the contrary. He gave up at last; calling me and the Society a set of fanatics.[132]

MacCarthy believed that in making them all Christians the recaptives would all be made responsible civilised citizens. His view of baptism reflects not only his perception of what constituted a Christian Society but his idea that one could be made a Christian. For him, Christianity was something that was bestowed onto the individual, it was a social rather than a spiritual issue.

Johnson received letters from his superiors urging him to be less hesitant about baptising, for in their opinion it was "a means of grace and may be the turning point in a decision of heart for Christ."[133]

MacCarthy saw the rite of Baptism as a "civilising" one, Johnson saw it as the confirmation of the work of God in salvation, and only when there was evidence that the recaptive had been convicted of his sin and repented, did Johnson feel he had the authority from God to baptise. While the CMS were anxious that Johnson was being too definite and demanding in his criteria for baptism, the Secretary of the CMS wrote to Wenzel:

> It will have a very bad effect if you baptise young and grown up persons without having evidence of their having real religion.[134]

Major A B Ellis wrote of the difficulties that emerged from indiscriminate baptism:

> In former days whenever the cargo of a captured slaver was landed at Sierra Leone a party from the garrison used to be admitted to the Liberated African Yard for the purpose of seeking recruits among the slaves.... Some 15-20 recruits being thus obtained, they were given high sounding names such as Mark Anthony, and Scipio Africanus, their own barbaric appellations being too unpronounceable and then marched down in a body to the Cathedral to be baptised. Some might be Mohammedan and the majority certainly believers in fetish but the form of acquiring their assent to a change in their religion was never gone through and the following Sunday they were marched into churches as a matter of course, along with other Christian comrades. Although thus nominally Christianised they remained at heart believers in fetish.[135]

Children were baptised by the CMS, and in the rite given new names, usually Christian names of benefactors in the British Isles. The *Missionary Registers* contain long lists almost every year of those who had become benefactors, and lists of the children who had taken their names. In a report to the CMS headquarters in London, the CMS missionary Flood, wrote explaining why it was that some in his school did not have proper names:

> In our school some of them were even baptised before they came to Regent being in school at Freetown under the care of Mr Davies, Wesleyan missionary, and by him baptised before they knew anything.[136]

A new name meant a new life, a new personality with new standards. This was the message that Christianity presented and this was the message that was accepted to varying degrees by the people. In the latter years of the 19th century, when there was a surge to retreat back to the old ways of the "country" - a nostalgic surge that sought out the good in the old life - one of the things that indicated a person's desire to become "African" again was the changing of their name back to those of their ethnic groups. William J Davies, a senior master in the Wesleyan High school, changed his name to Orishatukah Faduma, (a name which he derived from the Yoruba

Orisha and the Oracle Ifa). Kufileh Tubohku wrote to the editor of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* regarding the name change:

> Those who had censured Faduma for changing a name by which he had been known from his birth should remember that everyone of our liberated Negro parents had a name given him in the land of his nativity by which he was called and known from his birth up to the time he arrived in the land of his exile. He had a name full of meaning... preserving a tribal or racial individuality.[137]

With the regulations regarding registration of birth was a built in requirement for baptism. A law demanding the compulsory registration of all births was passed on the 7 March 1801, and the registration should have taken place through the Church Register. However the law was never enforced. Accounts of women going outside Freetown to their own country people living in the villages in order to give birth are common. This may well have been to ensure that the proper sacrifices and prayers of thanksgiving were offered to ensure the safety of the child. Missionaries were requested to ensure that the children they baptised had sponsors who would agree to look after the child's "spiritual welfare". Four sponsors who were already members of the Christian church had to be present if the parents were not members.[138]

While there was pressure to baptise if there was a credible profession of faith, what was most important for the missionaries was the search for "vital godliness". One of Johnson's communicants came to him and said:

> Massa, you say yesterday in the church some people come to prayer every morning and every evening and on Sunday four times, they have been baptised and they call themselves Christians and think that because they come to Church and say, Lord, Lord, they are going to a Heaven while they have no heart religion - they know not religion but only put Jesus Christ in their mouths and no do them things which he command them and are still going down to Hell. O Massa, them words hurt too much, me think me that man, me do that.[139]

In the missionary Reports for 1829 the Rev John Ulrich Graf noted that the "whole of the heathen population of the Colony would press to the Baptismal font if we

would receive them there on the understanding that Baptism, of all the "Greegrees" is the best."[140]

In 1823 a report on the village of Gloucester could read:

> There exists a blessed union among them; such as becometh the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ... Divine worship continued to be regularly observed, morning and evening every day; and well attended, though not so numerously as on Sundays.[141]

Johnson notes of his church services and the effects they were having on the villagers:

> Early in the morning we had family prayer in the Church, at half past ten, Divine Service, which was well attended. Read the liturgy and preached on John iii 5. When I was speaking on the evidences of true grace I observed two women whom I had admitted as Communicants, weep much. After the Sermon I married three couples, baptised 14 children, and administered the Lord's supper to the 10 communicants.[142]

Henry Steadman, another missionary of the CMS, wrote of the recaptives in his care:

> the sincerity of the people at large and their sense of the good which they derive through the Society and the British government, having been by their means enlightened and blessed through the gospel of Christ, are particularly seen in the zeal which they manifest for their benighted country men. Last year this zeal began to show itself in the baptised only but this year it entirely surpasses my expectation. In order to satisfy them I have formed a Missionary Association among them.[143]

Metzger, in 1832, as he conducted services at Kissy wrote back to the CMS asking:

> What am I to do when they apply for salvation, saying - I get too much trouble in my heart, I want to pray to God, I am afraid to die, I fear to go to Hell, I am a sinner - I cannot reject them because they perhaps cannot speak sufficient English or because they are very imperfect in their knowledge of Divine things.[144]

The signs that accompanied the search for vital godliness, were seen as a positive proof that the Christian message was making an impact on the recaptive population. The difficulty arose when the signs appeared to be contrary to "godliness".

ii. The Pattern of Behaviour that the Missionaries found

A few months after During's arrival he, like Johnson, noticed unusual and dramatic signs within his congregation. The repentance of the recaptives began with cries of how their hearts were wicked. An account of Gloucester for 1818 reads:

> The Negroes are accustomed to tell their Minister all that they feel. The first that rose said to Mr During, "Sir this week my heart be sorry to much. I think, every day, that the dirt be better than me." Yet this is a most exemplary man. Another said, "Every day my heart tell me that every day I be a bad man pass every body." And a Boy, who has been made a good boy by God's grace, came forward to say that he was troubled very much, because, when he was at work, he revenged himself on one of the masons who had thrown his tool away, by doing the same to him. This, he said, his heart told him was not good, and he feared God would be angry with him. Some said that it had been Sunday all the week with them and God had made their hearts glad. There were present between forty and fifty, of varying degrees of Christian knowledge and experience.[145]

These conversions were reminiscent of those that During had witnessed in Leicester at the Christian Institution. In 1817 During had written to the CMS concerning the developments at Leicester:

> I heard a groaning voice like a person in deep distress, ...I went in haste towards the school and when I opened the door, in expectation of witnessing some accident or other to my astonishment I saw four of the older girls on their knees, praying to the Lord for mercy and the pardon of their sins. The words which they made use of were broken English, but I sincerely believe that they prayed out of the fullness of their souls and poured out their hearts with tears before the Lord. They were crying and I could not prevent the tears from running down my cheeks.[146]

At the village of York Johnson noted:

> About seven o'clock, we went to the place of worship, which I found completely crowded with many outside. I addressed the people from Acts xvi 3. While speaking on the depraved state of Mankind and explaining what God required of man, as a just, holy and righteous God, one women fell trembling on the ground, others also appeared to be much affected. Fearing lest confusion should follow I exhorted them to be quiet and to restrain their feelings in order that I might dwell on the purpose of the text. The woman who continued to be much agitated, I desired to be removed.[147]

It was this agitation, accompanied by weeping and cries for mercy that became the first step in the process that the recaptives, and the settlers before them, referred to as "finding peace". Mrs Garnon, the wife of the Rev William Garnon, recorded her impression of one of the conversions she witnessed. A young Ebo woman cried, "Massa, my heart trouble me too much, this time":

> from excessive grief she fell suddenly into a kind of fit, (for I can describe it as no other) and shook on her knees in the most violent and distressing manner. This appears to be the manner in which these people are commonly affected under their first religious impressions.[148]

An outburst of emotion accompanied by earnest seeking after God, and followed by extreme joy continued to dictate the manner of conversion from the early years right through the century. In 1818 Samuel Brown, a Methodist missionary, records John Crown coming to him:

> he said he was come to tell me what God had done for his soul; that when I baptised his child (which had taken place about four weeks ago) conviction seized his mind; that he prayed in the bush, and in his house, or wherever he might be for the Lord Jesus to forgive his sins that everything bad that he had done came to his recollection; that his trouble was too great, that he could neither eat nor sleep; that his wife and former companion often questioned him as to what burdened his mind and urged him to eat and not give way to trouble. That when he had been at prayer in a retired place in the bush and was returning home he felt a sudden change pass upon his mind his trouble went away and gladness filled his heart. That this good thing he felt was sweet, that in his own country he had eaten honey and in the white man's [Sierra Leone is so called by the recaptured negroes] he had eaten sugar but this was sweeter than all. That if the Governor had given him plenty of shops full of cloth his heart could not feel as glad as he did.[149]

The same was true within the CMS congregations. Peter Nicholls, a sergeant of the Royal African Colonial Corps, underwent a conversion experience which typifies that of many of the soldiers. After an illness in Freetown in 1832 he felt convicted of his sin and sought God in the only way he knew how:

> ...at last the word of God appear to my heart as a wound then my heart was troubled and so I turn to seek the lord with my whole heart sometimes I go to the churchyard and Pray about one O'Clock in the night and sometime I Fast one day and one night Praying likewise until at last I feel very sorrowful for my sin, then I feel that I am in a miserable state I could not sleep at night

> and when I feel this I was very wretched sinner I could not get any rest at all in my mind. Sometimes I shut door upon myself a whole day almost in Purpose to Pray and at night I go to bed about ten or eleven O'Clock and sleep and at Three O'Clock I went to the bush to Pray...
>
> I Close my eye I pray in my heart, when I continue Praying by and by I Saw one little thing small as grain sand shining until it became a great light I get up my tears begin to run down my cheek and I wonder how can I see light without being sleeping... on the thirteenth of June 1832, as I was Fasting it was about one O'Clock in the day time I went to my closet there the Lord Pour down his Blessing upon my soul I saw something while I was upon my knee very great and it was very shining, I could not tell what it was for there was nothing worth in this life to compare with it I feel that the lord is Pardon my sin... O what a Glorious happiness I have felt that day it was a blessing indeed to my Poor never dying soul, then I begun to feel this fire upon my heart more full while I repeat Glory to God, Glory to God and the lamb for ever many of my Brethren and Sisters heard of it they run and come to hear the glad tidings of salvation then I Began to tell them what the Lord hath dont for my Soul while I continue Praising God and telling them what I have seen and felt tears dropped down my cheeks, then they raise hymns and while they began to sing the hymn, O what a Blessed hope of heaven I Feel at that moment, I find that my mouth was too little to Praise the Lord for what he has dont for my soul.[150]

Peter Nicholls' experience captures the essence of the excitement felt by recaptives searching and finding a new expression for their beliefs. Much time was spent in the process of seeking for the experience that was regarded as the crucial step of entry into the hope of Heaven.

The Nova Scotian influence cannot be underestimated. The settlers' very particular ritual of conversion, a ritual that had developed out of the evangelical revival, and had become the rite of entry into the Christian churches, had been brought across the Atlantic with them. The times of revival had disappeared but the ritual remained. The ritual had offered the assurance of salvation through the very obvious and specific signs that were expected. These signs were the troubling of the heart that caused despair over sin, the shouts and screams for mercy, the release of tension as the burden was removed, and the "giving glory" as one recognised the peace that one had found.

"Giving Glory" was an expression that was used by neither the Methodist missionaries, nor the CMS missionaries. CMS ministers were surprised when members of their own congregations told them that they were "giving glory." Graf's comment, that all the

knowledge that the poor people of the Church of the Countess of Huntingdon in Waterloo, possess "is a set of rather spiritual but to them unmeaningful phrases such as finding peace, and giving glory which lead them to scream and jump as proof that they are moved by the spirit",[151] indicates both its foreignness and the contempt that he, and most other missionaries, felt towards such phrases.

Such phrases however, dominated the religious thinking of the recaptives and described for them the process that they went through.

But Metzger wrote:

> At present we miss, in the Communicants, the ability to give a satisfactory account of the work of the Lord in their hearts: there is such a tautology in their expressions respecting their experience, that one is apt to suspect a mere repetition of words or an imitation of others. It is extremely difficult to dive into the real state of their hearts.[152]

The more discerning of the missionaries noted the many similarities between their congregations mannerisms, and those reported among the Nova Scotian Settlers in Freetown, and the churches they had established in the villages. During mentions a recaptive telling him:

> My brother, my sister me no able to talk about how my heart feel. Our Nova Scotian and Maroon friends be witness to the truth of religion.[153]

Graf was horrified to arrive at the house of a woman who had just died and find a discharged soldier, a Methodist, who could not read a single word, speculating upon the 6th chapter of Revelation. He was "pointing out with all the display of a pretended master in Israel what of the 6th chapter had been fulfilled and what had not".[154] Graf noted that the Methodist soldier had been to Freetown and had gleaned his knowledge in the Nova Scotian Methodist congregations there.

Mr McFoy, the village superintendent at Wellington, though not ordained or even a lay preacher of the church, was persuaded by representatives of the CMS to undertake "to read prayers and a portion of the Scripture in order to keep the people from a man who came from Freetown and who filled the people with erroneous ideas though he could not read a word".[155]

Johnson, arriving at the village of York, found a corporal there who, "had been to Freetown, and got some wild notion of religion and thought himself now qualified to instruct his countrymen although he could neither read nor write."[156]

Alongside those at Freetown, the one other group who claimed to know and possess the truth of religion were the soldiers from the West Indies. These soldiers had been subjected to revival preaching in the West Indies from the Methodist members there, and like the Nova Scotians, had held to the pattern of ritual long after the ritual had been superseded and become redundant. The secretary of the CMS, Bickersteth, had written to Johnson:

> In the West Indies in Methodist places of worship it is remarkable how much noise of various kinds - groans, cries for mercy, beating of hands prevails but among the Moravians the conversions occur quietly.[157]

A number of soldiers who had arrived from the West Indies, already baptised but with little formal knowledge of Christianity developed a strong Christian community in Gibraltar town in Freetown. Haensel, one of the German CMS missionaries, was despondent over the congregation at Gibraltar because of their persistence in carrying through what he called "professions unattended by corresponding practices".[158]

The missionaries had to continually respond to what they saw as the intrusions of the Nova Scotian people and their followers. Even Regent, with its strong adherence to the CMS, had been influenced by the settler theology, as can be seen by the demonstrations within the church that Johnson was continually dealing with.

He wrote:

> It appears that some of the Ranters at Freetown have endeavoured to prejudice the minds of these simple people against me or the Church of England, which has created a division. I thought I had better be cautious before I proceeded. In the evening, at the meeting, I found that a Mr Wise of Freetown had caused the division which had occurred among the Wesleyans, and he proposed himself as their spiritual guide. I took care not to say anything against Mr Wise or his followers, but left it entirely to themselves whether they would choose him for their teacher or whether they would accept me or any other teacher from the church....
>
> The next morning the three leaders came to me with the following decision: that they would go to the Governor and ask him whom they should have and if they fixed on me they would come to Regents town and beg me to come and administer the "love Feast" to them. I told them the real love feast was the Lord's supper which I have no objection to administering. They showed me a list of sixty-five persons who had formed themselves since my last visit into a society, under the direction of Mr Wise, who having heard of their endeavours to serve God had taken every opportunity to steal the hearts of these people.[159]

The group consisted only of lay people, none of whom were authorised to celebrate communion. Their problem was over whether to accept the ministrations of James Wise, a Nova Scotian Methodist minister, or whether to accept Johnson as the one who would perform the "Love Feasts". For Johnson the problem was that the group had been so influenced by settler Methodist teaching as to consider moving from the CMS church to that of the Methodists, and to feel the need for what they termed "Love Feasts". The Love Feast was an institution used by the Methodists as a means of sharing together with all those who believed. Communion was celebrated and the unity of all celebrants was emphasised. For Johnson the only real Love Feast was the sacrament of Holy Communion.

Johnson despaired of the extravagance that Freetown contained. He wrote to the Secretary telling him that he would leave Garnon to report on the heresies that were lately persistent in the colony, suffice it was to say that "the Devil is going about in two different shapes, like a roaring lion and like an angel of light":

> Sending missionaries to Freetown will be the only means of putting a stop to the many heresies which have sprung up there. The longer that place is left as it is the more will the people's minds be prejudiced against the Church and

> against the truth. Missionaries who will simply preach Christ crucified will alone succeed.[160]

Small settler run churches sprang up in villages around Freetown. In the village of Kissy, Christianity was introduced by the Nova Scotian Baptists who built a rough chapel and immersed people in the nearby stream. When C F Wenzel went to the village he tried to discourage the Baptist minister from his activity. In a letter dated 24 March 1817 Wenzel told Pratt of the secret attachment that the people still seemed to have to their former Baptist pastor. Many of them, he said went to Freetown to hear the Baptist pastor preach instead of attending Wenzel's services, and to add insult to injury the Baptist preacher was building a meeting house, without the consent of the Governor, between Kissy and Freetown.

In 1829 a petition was presented to the Colonial Governor about their behaviour:

> The Liberated African villages have been visited by independence teachers and not without success. These teachers have administered the ordinance in Liberated African villages.
>
> Their men, though without education and with little sound knowledge of religious truth, possess the gift of an animating address with a large stock of scriptural expressions.
>
> They trouble not, we should think, their people with much instructions, but give decided encouragement to the vehement outward manifestations of inward expressions before adverted to, as evidence of the work of grace within.[161]

It was over the search for vital religion that the tensions between the Nova Scotian settlers and recaptives on the one hand, and the British and European missionaries on the other, came to a head. As missionaries looked for "vital religion" to justify and confirm their ministry, their church members sought the vital experience that would confirm their salvation. Neither accepted totally what the other claimed as fundamental. The missionaries expected to see a certain pattern of behaviour, when recaptives behaved in a way in which the missionaries regarded as abnormal questions were inevitably raised. Was the recaptives' Christian behaviour Christian at all, or was it something from their pagan past? Could it be explained by a lack of knowledge,

an ignorance that through time and teaching could be put right? Was there a fundamental flaw within the Africans' constitutions that affected their behaviour and made them behave in excess of what was acceptable? For all the missionaries, the first reason for the African's problem was in the detrimental effect that the Nova Scotian settlers had on them.

Bultmann's remonstration with the Methodist, the Rev Joseph Jewett, over the subject of conversion provides a basis for understanding the tensions. Bultmann wrote:

> I felt compelled to remonstrate with him on two subjects, his very erroneous and objectionable criterion of conversion and his being the cause of so many continuing in ignorance.
>
> The first greatly affects the second, and though, as I believe, plainly repugnant to the word of God, as well as common decency and order is nevertheless held and maintained as far as I have had opportunity to observe by all the Dissenters in the Colony, the Wesleyans not excepted - such conclusion is at least unavoidable, when observing their practice. Their famous, but mistaken, criterion of conversion then - borne out by their practice - is, an external and consequently visible and bodily evidence on the part of the subject under conversion which consists of two stages - first, a crying or groaning aloud, or a trembling or knocking the benches, before which they kneel, or, as is mostly the case, all these together; secondly, a rejoicing, or repeating, perhaps scores of times the words, "Glory to God," wherein generally the bystanders join, or else make some other singing noise, while gathering, (not to say dancing, as I have often seen it) around the convert who from this hour is considered a "member" of their meeting and has only to wait for Mr Jewett's next visit to be baptised.
>
> The term they use for conversion, or change of heart is "Seeking and Finding Peace" or "Seeking and Finding the Lord" Those that professed to seek generally keep kneeling and closing their eyes in the Meeting, even during singing and the sermon and an idea prevails among them that if they see anything, either God, (as they presume), or the Lord Jesus Christ, or the Cross, or a spirit or an angel or a man or also a lifeless thing, a fruit, a tree a branch, a leaf or in fact anything - they are to take this for their peace....[162]

Jewett was a Nova Scotian who ministered in Rawdon Street chapel and worked weekdays piloting ships into the harbour. He had been ordained by the Rev Daniel Coker. Jewett visited the various churches in the villages and appointed preachers to superintend them. The mistaken criteria, according to Bultmann, were the cause of the lack of vital religion in the churches. Too much emphasis was placed on emotional outbursts, and not enough on the holy sorrow that led to a soul searching

conviction of sin. The consequences of the enthusiasm were seen to be an antinomian theology. During wrote :

> there are some people in Freetown who say that they can and must make themselves fit for to receive the grace of the Lord Jesus for the saving of his soul. And others say again that if a man find God he can never fall into sin because he is holy and can do what he pleases but after all he will be saved.[163]

Such thinking parallels the teaching of Henry Alline of Nova Scotia. The liberty of freedom from sin and the separation of the body from the soul that Alline insisted upon was retranslated into Sierra Leonean society. The continuing battle between those who held that man could do nothing for his own salvation and those who believed in the responsibility of a person to work in order to attain the position wherein Christ would redeem him, was played out among both the missionary groups and the Sierra Leoneans. The fear remained that what was being advocated by the Nova Scotians, whose life styles, the missionaries thought, left much to be desired, would create a situation of lawlessness within the church. While the missionaries no longer felt any sense of responsibility for the Christian welfare of the settlers after the settlers had made it clear that they were in control of their own affairs, they still felt responsible for the recaptive converts. A Nova Scotian theology would, the missionaries believed, be destructive to the recaptive churches. The recaptives were insufficiently grounded in their faith and were liable to fall back on their old religious traditions. Any teaching that appeared to give the recaptives a free license to express themselves as they pleased would only result in the most heinous sins being committed in the name of Christianity.

In their letters back to the London Headquarters, the CMS missionaries continually lament their inability to keep a "holy control" upon the people. The secretary of the CMS had written to his missionaries in 1816, telling them to be careful:

> particularly guard yourself against any allowance of extravagance in the negroes, their natural warmth and simplicity expose them to this - remember that persons in authority will approve any thing you do in the way of civilising the

> negroes but they are not so likely to understand and approve that which is our high object, the religious benefit of the poor people.[164]

There was a general feeling that the so called extravagances were both the effect of the native temperament and the result of the recaptives' lack of education. The CMS Secretary in London wrote to the missionaries telling them that "we are not surprised at God's leading the negroes who have not these advantages which we enjoy in a Christian and civilised country by dreams or in any other extraordinary way".[165] But the CMS warned against the danger of accepting as authentic any experience of the dreams within conversion.

Josiah Pratt and E Bickersteth wrote a general letter to the missionaries expressing their opinions:

> Their Knowledge of religion is unavoidably very limited; they have little experience in the Divine Life, and their judgements consequently are very imperfectly formed whilst their constitutions render them remarkably susceptible of having their feelings strongly wrought upon. A more perilous exposure to the wiles of the Devil can scarcely be conceived. A violent excitement of the feelings gives full scope to the power of the imagination that Satan principally, if not exclusively, exerts his destructive agency upon the soul of man.
>
> Connect the view with the character of the enemy and we may conclude certainly that traces of his influence will soon be visible among your people; first, probably by an infusion of erroneous doctrine, and then by its inseparable concomitant - sinful practices.[166]

Letters scurried back and forth across sea from Britain to Sierra Leone over this particular issue. The missionaries recognised that what was especially favoured in the Colony was the particular "mode of preaching calculated to produce such effects":

> we have found them very susceptible of an excitement of feeling, leading even to considerable agitation of the frame.... While we would wish to become all things to all men, we apprehend that a sound work of conversion is not in any case dependant upon such excitement; whereas there exists considerable danger lest an individual should mistake the vehemence of bodily agitation for an evidence of the inward grace. Such a mistake seems to prevent the subject of these excitements from seeking after clear views of the Gospel Doctrine and Evangelical requirement: and though we would not say that without clear views on these matters the individual cannot be the subject of Gospel Salvation, yet we are convinced that his Christian Character rests on an insecure foundation.[167]

The "many defects in the religious character of the African" were explained by the English and German missionaries as the result of sin, the effect of ignorance, the lack of knowledge, and the effects of the Devil. The missionaries believed that the reasons for the differences in the Christianity exhibited by the recaptives was contained within these categories and all prayed for the time when these faults would disappear. The recaptives on the other hand increased in their understanding but continued to behave in a manner the missionaries believed indicated that their conversion rested upon insecure foundations.

Bultmann could hardly contain his delight when he came across the reason for one child's absence at school. He said that the mother came to tell him that the reason for the days off was that her daughter was melancholy and in dejection of spirits. "I found in her that sorrow that is not of the world but of God, a repentance to salvation not to be repented of. A discovery like this is so gratifying because so rare among the rising generations."[168] While conversions of such a melancholy nature were unusual, the frequency of conversions of a dramatic nature were common. Yet there was to come a time when the missionaries longed for the days of excitement.

The Christianity that was developing in Sierra Leone was vital, enthusiastic, emotional and noisy. It attracted many of the recaptives who expressed their new beliefs in ways that the missionaries found strange. Regent provided the clearest example of this developing Christianity. It also provided the missionaries with the clearest example of the word of the Lord not returning unto them void, and as such stories of Regent found their way into every *Missionary Register* and *Report*. The question must be asked, was what happened at Regent just the best example of what was happening throughout the Colony or was it a unique expression of Christianity. I believe it was the best example of what was happening all over and Regent, like other villages, offers the evidence that the developing Christianity was heavily influenced by the Nova Scotian tradition.

Regent - A Unique Case or the Best Example of what was happening in Sierra Leone

A B C Sibthorpe makes reference to the work of Sierra Leone's most famous missionary and pastor in his historical survey of memorable events during MacCarthy's rule as governor. W A B Johnson, the superintendent at Regent, gained a mention for discovering the "means of blasting granite rocks by means of fire, aided by the effusion of cold water when in the ardent state (1819)."[169] Others have noted Johnson's work in regard to the dramatic growth of the church at Regent during his pastorship. W Jowett, writing his somewhat hagiographic memoir of Johnson, noted of him:

> Here is a single man, but just escaped from a London workshop employed in organising, civilising, and humanising a large body of rescued slaves, of a different race, and of various tongues. In a wonderfully short space of time, he so gains the affections of these poor savages, that a large Christian village arises, almost as if by magic. Streets and gardens, a church and schools, fields and farm-yards are occupied, and cultivated by hundreds of willing hands and hearts. At once without any delay, a congregation of redeemed and saved men and women is seen. The church is filled to overflowing; the schools are crowded with eager learners; hundreds press forward to beg for the benefit of the Christian sacraments;- meanwhile, industry and its fruits abound on every side, and purity of morals, such as no English village knows universally prevails.[170]

Such was the impression that Christian England had of William Johnson. His missionary success was measured by the large church attendance, the numbers expressing a desire for baptism, and the tidy neat industrious village that indicated "civilisation" was taking place.

Yet the village of Regent is not simply a CMS model of success. As we have seen, the recaptives accepted and adapted Nova Scotian teaching and Christian practice. The key to understanding what happened at Regent is found in Johnson.

9. Johnson's Early Life and Conversion Experience

For Johnson, both of the descriptions, that of an engineer and that of a preacher of the gospel, were appropriate to the task that he sought to fulfil as a missionary. In

one of his later letters to the secretary of the CMS he had written, describing what he believed missionaries should be like: "They should be acquainted with husbandry, mechanics, land surveying, geography, arithmetic, and be able to rule their own house."[171] The missionary's task was for Johnson more than simply preaching the gospel. While he saw his verbal witness as his most important task, he believed that without the shepherding of the flock in all aspects the "gospel" became like throwing pearls before swine.

Johnson, unlike many of the other missionaries, had had experiences that could be shared with, and understood by, the recaptives. He had suffered poverty and isolation, had struggled to earn sufficient on which to live, he was poorly educated, and he had been uprooted from his own country and come to an unfamiliar land to live.

In 1812, Johnson came from Hanover to London, where he worked in a distillery.[172] He was an intensely emotional man. Of his situation at that time he wrote:

> my sins laid very heavy upon me. I tried to pray, but I did not know how or what to say, lest I should add sin to sin.... I tried to do good, but I could not bring it into performance.[173]

Johnson began to attend the German speaking Garnon Church, Savoy where Steinkopf was the pastor.[174]

One evening he responded to a locum minister, a Moravian called Lehman. Lehman appealed, "Is there a sinner here, full of sin and ready to sink under it - I bid, in the name of Jesus, such a one to come unto Him, for he has said, "Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden and I will give you rest." At that meeting Johnson records how he felt his sins forgiven - "I thought I could have gone to Heaven at once, and, at last, like the eunuch, I went on my way rejoicing". Deeply impressed by what had happened, he notes in his journal how he felt a great desire to convert all those around him. Johnson met opposition from his wife, his workmates (who ridiculed his belief) and the distillery employer, who began Sunday work. Johnson left the

distillery, believing that it was wrong to work on the Sabbath, and found work at a sugar warehouse. Johnson had undergone what has been described as a classic conversion experience. He was remorseful for his sin, he called upon God, and, he believed, God heard him and saved him:

> I could pray - I felt my sins forgiven - I felt joy unspeakable and full of glory. I thought I could have gone to Heaven at once.[175]

Johnson's spiritual state fluctuated quite considerably from deep depression over his sins, to exultation in his new found faith. He started to attend Pell Street Chapel even though he knew little English. He was impressed by the minister there, the Rev Stodhart, a German who has been described in these words:

> though rather peculiar was a most valuable popular preacher, his address was commanding and clear, his theology rich with the doctrines of sovereign grace, expressed in scriptural phraseology.[176]

"I must confess", Johnson wrote in his journal, "at first when I attended there I was staggered much at the doctrine of Free and Sovereign Grace".[177] Johnson accepted the doctrine and it influenced the rest of his missionary life. He came to accept that no one would or could believe except he was taught by the Holy Ghost. Nothing a person could do could bring them any closer to God.

Johnson was concerned that his wife had still not converted. She continued to attend church with him until one evening when "the people of God in Pell Street were surrounding the Lord's table, it pleased the Lord to give her conviction of sin".[178]

After hearing some missionaries speak at the chapel, Johnson felt a desire to go himself as a missionary, "the wretchedness of the poor benighted heathens tugged at his soul, and he offered himself for service with the words 'here am I, send me.'"[179]

He became a regular member of Pell Street Chapel where he continued to be influenced by the minister, Stodhart, on the need to speak to the "Heathen".

When Henry During, a German companion of Johnson, informed him that he was travelling with the CMS to West Africa, Johnson volunteered to go too and approached the CMS. Fourteen days later the Johnsons were called before the committee of the CMS where they were accepted as missionaries to Sierra Leone. Johnson was then placed in a National Society's Training School for twelve months to improve his English.[180]

The *Missionary Register* of 1816 contains the following record:

> After a very pleasant passage Messrs Horton, Johnson, During and Jost with their wives, arrived in safety at Sierra Leone on the 27th of April. Mr Bickersteth was then absent on his visit to the society's distant settlements and they awaited his return for the appointment of their situations.[181]

When Bickersteth arrived back, he took Johnson to Yongoro with the express purpose of introducing a system of education there.[182] Yongoro was an establishment on the Bulom Shore on the coast near Sierra Leone.

Following Bickersteth's report recommending that the mission move its men and resources from Susuland to Sierra Leone, the CMS appointed Johnson to go to a small village called Hogbrook, later renamed Regent's Town, where 1,500 natives awaited instruction. Hogbrook had been created in July 1813 when a slave ship from Mesurado had been brought into harbour and the people, mostly Vai, disembarked from it. In a few years the village representatives from many different ethnic groups were living in the village. Bickersteth informed the Committee that work on the stone church was almost complete, and though the houses looked at present dilapidated the Governor was doing work on them.

Johnson's description of his new destination is worth noting:

> There are a very few of these poor people who can speak broken English, the greatest part have lately arrived from slave vessels and are in a most deplorable condition chiefly afflicted with the dropsical complaint.[183]

In his letter back to the London Headquarters of the CMS he wrote of the village, "...it is by all appearances what I may call a complete wilderness."[184]

A report written and published in the 1820 *Missionary Register* gives a survey of Regent's town:

> natives of twenty-two different nations were here collected together; and a considerable number of them had been but recently liberated from the holds of Slave Vessels. They were greatly prejudiced against one another, and in a state of continual hostility, with no common medium of intercourse but a little broken English. When clothing was given to them they would sell it, or throw it away: it was difficult to induce them even to put it on and it was not found practical to introduce it among them until led by the example of Mr Johnson's servant girl. None of them on their first arrival seemed to live in the state of marriage: some were even afterward married by the late Mr Butscher; but all the blessings of the marriage state and of female purity appeared when Mr Johnson arrived among them, to be quite unknown... Superstition, in various forms, tyrannised their minds: many Devil's Houses sprung up, and all placed their security in wearing greegrees...
>
> Of the nation of the Ebos it may be right to give some particulars. About forty of them having been drawn, on their liberation, from the slave ships to serve in the African Corps, they were placed under a course of military instruction at Bance island; but were discharged as intractable, and were sent to Regent's town. Here they soon gave proof of almost incredible brutality...
>
> Placed under the care of one of the Natives - himself but recently liberated from the hold of a slave ship, and as yet but little influenced by Christian Principle - he exercised over them what appeared to him to be unavoidable severity; but, when his own heart became powerfully affected by the Gospel, he would retire to the woods and pray for them - they formed a strong attachment to him - he prevailed on them to go to church - and was an instrument of incalculable good to them. The Word of God was blessed to many of them. They are all now civilised and married, they are steady, sober, and industrious, and several of them readily communicate at the Lord's table, and all are become clean and decent, and attend the Public Worship of God.[185]

As the newly appointed schoolmaster, replacing Hirst, who was sent out by the Methodist Society, Johnson received a salary of £150 per annum and his wife £50 as schoolmistress. "But", wrote Butscher, "I'm surprised that you sent out a woman by the name of schoolmistress who does not know the alphabet. I do not know how to

keep her ignorance from the Governor. Had I known it before E Bickersteth left, Mr J would probably have got another station."[186]

10. Johnson's Contribution to the Parish Plan

Despite the fact that Johnson was sent to Sierra Leone as a school teacher he very quickly adopted the role of a minister and pastor. In a letter dated 8 October 1816 he wrote to Pratt, the CMS Secretary:

> Excuse me for taking the liberty of preaching as I have not been sent out for that purpose and I have no ability but what can I do, my heart is full with the desire to preach the unchangeable riches of Christ unto the poor benighted heathen.[187]

Johnson's preaching style was simple and direct. He had little if any theological training and tended to base his preaching on patterns that he had heard in Pell Street Chapel and in the German Savoy Church. In his letters he tended to inform the CMS Secretary of how and what he preached.

> I kept service in church before the floor was laid because of the number of people - around five hundred. After reading the church service he spoke on 1 Corinthians 2 v 2, "For I resolved to know nothing among you save Jesus and him crucified."[188]

Johnson sent synopses of sermons back to the Secretary. For example one of them was based on four questions:

> Who is Christ?
> What has Christ done?
> What is he doing?
> What is he going to do?[189]

Three services were usually conducted on a Sunday, during the week there was the school to attend to, and there was a prayer meeting on Saturday evenings. A typical Sunday for Johnson commenced at 5 am with an hour of family prayer which was regularly attended by a large number of recaptives. Church services were conducted

at 10 am, 3 pm and 7 pm. On Sunday 14 July 1816 Johnson records his 10 am service:

> Opened worship with a hymn; read the Church Service; sung a hymn; prayed; explained the 18th chapter of the gospel according to St John. Spoke on the sufferings of Christ, the fall of man, and the necessity of his sufferings; concluded with singing a hymn and a prayer.[190]

Johnson's sermons were based on the sinfulness of all people before a Holy God. He warned his recaptives that they must prepare to meet God, that their sin would keep them from Heaven and that they would burn in eternal hell fire if they did not turn to God and repent of their sins. In another of his sermons he details the path he took:

> In the afternoon spoke on Isaiah lxii. 12 I showed as follows: -
>
> 1 The Election of God's people.
> 2 The Redemption.
> 3 Effectual Calling.
> 4 Final Perseverance.
> 5 "Holy people".
> 6 "Redeemed of the Lord".
> 7 "Shall be sought out".
> 8 "A city not forsaken".
>
> In the evening I spoke on 1 John iii 1. Here I was led out more than usual. My own experiences came to my memory. Showed the Father's everlasting love (1) before conversion, and (2) after conversion, in a peculiar manner.[191]

His preaching was influenced by a moderate Calvinism. While holding that God called those who were His, Johnson believed that it was the duty of his recaptives to seek after God. He preached from texts such as John V v 6, "Wilt thou be made whole", urging his villagers to consider and respond to the question. He challenged all he met with the words "Prepare to meet thy God".[192]

From the reports of the early years the headquarters of the CMS were well pleased with Johnson's progress. At the end of 1816 Pratt sent a letter to Butscher suggesting that Johnson be ordained. Following this letter the two CMS representatives sent a letter to Johnson informing him that a meeting with Garnon was pending at which

time a decision would be made. Pratt, the CMS secretary, informed MacCarthy that German missionaries had been ordained elsewhere using the Lutheran rites:

> I pointed out to MacCarthy, that the procedure of ordination was practised in India by missionaries under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[193]

On 31 March 1817 Johnson was ordained by the missionaries Renner, Butscher and Wenzel according to the rites of the Lutheran Church.

11. The Signs of Change at Regent

Things were happening at Regent. The official Report on the Roads and Public Buildings 1819 surveyed the village impressively:

> Who can contrast the simple and sincere Christian worship which proceeds and follows their daily labours with the grovelling and malignant superstitions of their original state, their greegrees, their red water, their witchcraft, and their devil houses without feeling and acknowledging a miracle of good.[194]

Well before Johnson was received into the Lutheran Ministry, he was seeing a strange and unusual growth within his village church. He records the experience of his first convert to the Christian faith:

> In October 1816, one evening a shinglemaker (Joe Thompson) followed me out of the church and desired to speak to me. However, with astonishment, I found that he was in deep distress about the state of his soul. He said, that one evening, he had heard me ask the congregation if any one had spent five minutes in prayer that day to Jesus, or the past day, week, month, or ever. He was so struck with it and could not answer the question himself. He had heard the present and future state of the wicked explained. He could answer nothing but that he was wicked after that all the sins which he had done before had entered into his mind. He had tried to pray but he could not, he would therefore ask me what he should do to save his soul.[195]

Soon there were twenty one adults and three boys who had professed faith in Jesus Christ and shown sufficient knowledge of the catechism to be baptised. Johnson, still a layman, called upon the Rev Leopold Butscher to come to Regent to perform the

baptisms. One of the candidates was the doctor caring for the recaptives, Macaulay Wilson, son of King George at Yongoro. Johnson obviously admired him, but his conversion was kept secret on Johnson's request. Johnson recorded Wilson's experience:

> he said that on one Sunday afternoon, I had spoken on these words, "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Since that time he could find no rest; he had often come in the morning in order to acquaint me with it, but had been kept back - could I not give him some advice, for he had been notoriously wicked. I replied that I could give him no other advice but to come to Jesus. "His blood cleanseth from all sin." He has since attended family prayer, and has found comfort through that passage. "Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord." Isa. i. 18.[196]

That same month several more people came to Johnson complaining about their bad hearts and gave, Johnson writes "such striking evidences of grace that not any man could forbid water that these should not be baptised."[197] After baptism those who had professed their faith received the sacraments for the first time at Regent.

Johnson noted the Igbo woman who came to him wishing to be baptised - "Me pray to God the Holy Ghost to take me to Jesus Christ - to take me to the Father."[198] Johnson says her heart was so full that he she could hardly speak. He referred her to William Tamba for further counselling before he accepted her for the baptism.[199] God Palavers, times set aside when Johnson would talk to all those anxious about the state of their hearts, became more and more common.

Renner, the senior missionary of the CMS in West Africa, wrote to Pratt at the Mission Headquarters in London, describing the full church of pious people, the harmonious singing which both sexes had attained and the advancement in civilisation. He wrote:

> I spoke morning and evening to a people that seemed devout indeed. Regent's town is fast advancing in getting civilised and christianised. Almost every night as I am told one or other is affected and on certain nights the whole congregation seems impressed but judging by appearance these are they that take the kingdom of Heaven by violence.[200]

On 15 January 1817 Johnson records how he was awakened by hearing the sound of prayer. He rose and went out unto the veranda but he could only distinguish a few words. Often he would catch the faint mumblings of songs or prayers or cries for mercy, services were conducted by the recaptives outside church times. Indeed so often did these midnight or early morning services take place that Johnson found himself cautioning his congregation against the dangers of sluggish prayer:

> As the matter was pressed upon the consciences of such as had been sleeping while others were praying several cried aloud and such confusion was created by those who were thus overcome of emotion that a hymn was sung while the door keepers removed them. Trembling and unable to stand or walk they had to be carried out literally in the arms of others before sufficient quiet was restored.[201]

The recaptives expressed their conviction of their sins and their awareness that God would judge them in loud cries for mercy that echoed the experiences of the Nova Scotians. Often, Johnson records, he just had to mention the name Jesus and people would burst into floods of tears. The common cry was simply "O Jesus, have mercy on me". On Saturday evening 4 January 1817 Johnson was walking around the village when he heard a noise from a house. On looking inside he found the house full and many sitting weeping and trembling, others were singing in their broken language:

> I could not well pass by, I went in, spoke to them on the second birth, proposed to sing a hymn, which was done while shedding many tears; after which I prayed with them and my poor voice was soon drowned for the most of them were crying aloud for mercy.[202]

The following Sunday at prayer the scene was repeated and several more instances of this type of outburst were noted in the following months. Meetings also took place in the middle of the nights.[203] Johnson notes how in the middle of the night he heard a man's voice praying, he listened while a hymn was then sung and another boy called aloud to Jesus to take away his bad heart and give him a new one. Singing interspersed the various cries for repentance. Johnson attempted the following

morning to find out who the people involved were, but without success. This happened often, he wrote in his journal:

> I heard the sound of prayer in the middle of the night but I could only distinguish a few words until the prayer being ended a number of voices blended together to sing the doxology - in the sounds of prayer I had heard the footsteps of God, the sound of a rushing mighty word from heaven a precursor of a new Pentecost.[204]

The Secretary in London responded to Johnson's descriptions of dramatic testimonies with reservation. Pratt and Bickersteth wrote to Johnson warning him of the dangers in excess:

> We rejoice however with trembling, when we reflect upon Satan's devices, and the peculiar character of your people. Their knowledge of religion is, unavoidably, very limited; they have little experience in the Divine life, and their judgements consequently are very imperfectly formed, whilst their constitutions render them remarkably susceptible of having their feelings strongly wrought upon. A more perilous exposure to the "wiles of the Devil" can scarcely be conceived.[205]

Johnson was concerned about the noise and disturbances in church. While he could understand the intensity of emotion that brought the recaptive to the stage of tears he felt at a loss as to how to keep control of the congregation once faintings and crying aloud shook the building:

> In the morning whilst speaking to a crowded congregation on John xi. 25, several were affected, and wept, and prayed aloud for mercy. In the afternoon, the same scene took place, whilst speaking on 1 Cor. xv.55.
>
> In the evening whilst engaged in prayer, crying and praying became general, so that I was obliged to leave off, and give out a hymn, but all no use. The greatest part of the congregation were on their knees, and crying aloud for mercy. ...While I passed toward the door, I saw one man on his knees, knocking with his hands on the boards, and crying, "Lord Jesus, me no let thee go - pardon my sins first."[206]

Finally Johnson resorted to the use of doorkeepers to remove any who were creating too much noise.[207] Less noise was heard within the church though there were occasions when the services were once again interrupted:

> we have been much disturbed by cries and loud prayers this day. O Holy Spirit, it appears that there are many who enquire the way to Zion.[208]

In his journal for 6 September 1818 he writes, "groanings and loud prayers have at length ceased to be heard among us."[209] But after the service, Johnson records seeing a number of boys and girls going into the fields where they proceeded to kneel down behind bushes and pray. Later that night the mountains echoed with the sound of hymns and a service took place led by the villagers themselves. Night time was the time when the majority of the recaptives appeared to like singing and praying. Even the girls and boys of the school were involved in these nocturnal activities:

> This morning when I awoke I heard the girls singing and praying behind the school house. Mrs Johnson got up and advised them to go to bed which they did. About 4.00 am the boys began to sing in their house after they had sung several hymns I sent one of my servants to advise them to be silent as all the people were asleep.[210]

12. Johnson's Methods as Village Superintendent

In his early letters back to the CMS secretary, Johnson pointed out that there was such a mad scramble for clothing which the government provided Europeans in the villages that he had to adopt a firm line, "I told them I would come to see them at their respective farms and give them according to their industry."[211] Johnson's policy of giving to those who acted according to his rules was to become the cause of much criticism later. It established the relationship between success and prosperity and the Christian Church that was to dominate Johnson's reign as superintendent at Regent.

As the numbers involved in the various services increased more and more wished to be baptised, all claiming that they were converted. There were advantages to being baptised in Regent. Apart from the obvious effect of being a member of the Church, there were also material assets to be gained. The communicants at Regent attended the prayer meeting on Saturday evenings and gave reports of their progress and the

reports of others. At these meetings a regular subscription was taken and each Christmas a subscription dinner was held.[212]

The 1821 dinner consisted of the rich fare of beef, pork, mutton, duck, and fowl, and then beverage of weak wine and water. The Communicants were entitled to membership of the Benefit Society that Johnson established in Regent. He wrote to the secretary, "I had an object in view which was to form among them a little society for the relief of their sick members by subscriptions of a half penny a week each."[213] Johnson makes the point that the communicants in the society had a series of rules for behaviour, "If any person did begin to quarrel, or did not behave as a Christian, he should be turned out, and pay the sum of £5; if not able to pay, be confined to the house of correction for two months."[214] The communicants' group had a secretary and a steward who looked after the financial affairs.

Johnson also established a Missionary Association to aid the main society, this association was well attended and substantial contributions were made to its funds. In 1819 Johnson had to return to Europe on account of his wife's health. Regent was supervised by Cates and the Morgans, though the real control of the village was in the hands of the native assistants. The communicants had increased to 253 and the number in attendance at the morning and evening prayers was around 500. By far the greatest number of people attended public worship on a Sunday where the church swelled with numbers of around 1,000-1,300. But signs that the communicants depended on Johnson for their organisation and spiritual growth became apparent. They begged Johnson to come back. Unfortunately tensions between the various missionaries exacerbated the situation; the Morgans appear to have threatened the villagers with the warning that Johnson was not coming back as he had heard to much bad of them.[215]

Johnson encouraged the participation of villagers in activities which he could control. Indeed it was his village which could boast the first native assistants within the ranks of the CMS. The two men, William Tamba and William Davies had proved their

dedication to the society when they accompanied Johnson around the 140 mile visit to the districts bordering the Colony. A second journey to the Bassa Country was made and Davies acted as chief interpreter. Cates, another of the CMS missionaries who spent some time at Regent noted of the two men:

> That these men have really been called from the grossest ignorance and darkness, to a knowledge of the truth, their consistent characters and lives sufficiently testify. They appear to possess such gifts as are necessary to qualify them as teachers of their countrymen.[216]

David Noah, another communicant whom Johnson admired, was appointed as a third Native Assistant.

By 1821 Norman, Johnson's assistant could write, "A spirit of prayer is poured out on the people in a remarkable manner, so that we find, as we pass through the streets on returning from evening class that almost every house is become a house of prayer."[217] By October of 1821 the attendance at morning and evening prayers varied from 700 to 1,000.

From this peak period there was a noticeable decline that set in after Johnson was forced again to leave the Colony for another period to accompany his invalid wife to Britain and to visit his family in Germany. Occasional references at first to the two or three falling away from their Christian profession increased as the months went on. The missionaries who visited Regent treated the congregations in a different manner and gained a very different response. They told them that Johnson would not return and all the missionaries were leaving them because they were so bad. The Missionary Society that Johnson had founded was given up, and only the Benefit Society remained organised by themselves. Church attendance dropped remarkably.

On Johnson's return he noted the situation and listened to his congregation for an explanation. He wrote:

> I beheld with grief, almost everywhere, ruins. The tower of the church and the school house, which the carpenters were covering when I left, were levelled to the ground; the hospital just in the same state as I left it.... Several people the next morning came and told me grievous things; and were I to put them down, what would you, my dear Sirs, say of the trials through which the people of God went in this place? Several have indeed backslidden, but there are indeed many causes for it; what will not be the consequence of bad usage? I thought I had left a friend and brother here, when I left this place - one whom I regarded much, but how much have I been deceived?[218]

Johnson continued amidst the difficulties of the weather and his own ill health. When he heard a rumour that his wife had died he was distraught and in one of the saddest letters he wrote he noted how his own African brethren had sympathised with him while he had not received a single line from any of his European friends to console him.[219]

Up until the time Johnson left the Colony, called back to England because of his deteriorating health, he was regularly preaching, administering communion, baptising, and examining and admitting new communicants in Regent and elsewhere. The *Missionary Register* for 1823 noted of Johnson:

> In the course of the last year, the Rev W Johnson several times visited from Regent's Town, the more distant Settlements of the Colony.[220]

Johnson's final report on Regent indicated the degree of success which he felt had been his.

> As it respects Regent's Town, the work of the Lord is proceeding as before. Divine service has been regularly attended by the communicants and the other inhabitants: the schools continue to improve. We have had several additions to our congregations and the schools, by the arrival of slave vessels; and our population now amounts to upwards of 2,000 persons. The people behave quietly and orderly so that we have very few palavers, indeed less than ever before.[221]

The people responded to him with a love that surprised him. When his wife finally left the village to return to Britain, the sympathy that people expressed overwhelmed

him. They understood his grief and they themselves grieved at the loss of his wife from among them. One wrote to him:

> My dear Sir,... When I saw you yesterday morning I could not help weeping only I hid it from you as much as I could but in particular when I saw Mrs Johnson's chair I could not help weeping and I pitied your case: but Sir all things work together for good to them that love the Lord.[222]

Finally unable to see properly and suffering from fever he boarded ship for the last time. During and Norman were left in charge of Regent. It was with sorrow that the people of Regent heard of the death of their pastor. His death was announced in a letter sent by Bickersteth to During. Joseph Pratt, and Edward Bickersteth, the secretaries in London, also wrote to David Noah at Regent's town. A church service was conducted after the people had received the news. Norman notes that:

> Before I began the service I spoke to them, and begged them not to make any noise, as I knew it was an African custom to cry aloud when they lost a friend....
>
> I was astonished at the behaviour of the people. Not a word or a sob was heard in the church after service but all was silent grief.[223]

There is no record of any private services held for Johnson but it is not too much to speculate that there most likely was, when his death was mourned in the customary way.

It was not until February 1825 that a resident missionary went to Regent. His description of the town produces a very different picture of Regent, H Brooks described how he found that the public works had stopped, the population had diminished to 1,300, many going to reside in the smaller hamlets, or else going to Freetown. Brooks died a few months later and the few missionaries who managed to visit Regent did so very sporadically. Joseph May, the Liberated West African Methodist preacher, announced in later years as he discussed the situation at Regent:

> under Johnson people came to Church for the sake of loaves and fishes while others attending arose from a fear of being put in Gaol by the missionary who was also the magistrate.[224]

May's searing remark may well echo an element of truth. The CMS missionary Betts felt the same:

> I am not so much discouraged at the difference between my present comparatively small congregation and the crowds that used to assemble in Mr Johnson's time as I have been informed of the fact which partly explains it. Mr J had a great secular power and there were I believe some hundreds of the people receiving government rations. These he, or his assistant superintendent, used to oblige to come to church and I understand that those who did not attend public worship used to be fined.[225]

Despite May's and Betts' analysis of Johnson's success it must be recognised that the recaptives respected Johnson. There was a reverence and fear of Johnson that went beyond an ordinary relationship between minister and people. But Johnson was also treated with an intense love and familiarity. He adopted the role of the father to the people and the people of Regent were happy with this role. Letters were written to Johnson when he was absent from Regent, letters which addressed him as "My dear Father in Christ", or "My dear Father in the Gospel".[226]

Johnson had changed the face of Regent, and introduced a system of living that was unique to himself. Others never held the charismatic sway that he did, and never appeared to come close again to the people in the way that was so peculiar to Johnson. Why Johnson should have carried such authority in the village is difficult to properly assess. May's complaint has truth, but so too do the numerous letters from his communicants in which their love and affection for Johnson is very obvious. (The two are perhaps not incompatible when personality differences and attitudes are taken into consideration.)

The church at Regent remained in the control of the villagers themselves. A Christian community did survive and when Weeks wrote back to the Committee in London in 1841 detailing the situation at Regent he could report:

> In Regent's town, 112 persons applied for religious instruction, upwards of seventy were candidates for baptism, and five for the Lord's supper.[227]

Things were never as they once were at Regent. The reason for the strange and unusual phenomena that created havoc in the church services and was the cause of so many flocking to Johnson to be baptised, has never been properly understood. The signs that were evidenced at that time bore similarity to the signs that were associated with the revivals in Britain, but while those in Britain already had a degree of Christian knowledge which was being "revived", those in Regent were being introduced to Christ for the first time. Conversion in Britain was a conversion from "nominal" to "real" Christianity, from a position of accepting that the church and the Bible were true to a position of experiencing their relevance in one's own life. The actual paradigm of conversion - that of the period of conviction accompanied by deep remorse, to the point of weeping for one's lost condition and finally the overwhelming realisation that God could and would change one's life had given rise to a certain pattern of behaviour that was expected from each convert. What appears to have happened was that this specific pattern became a feature of Christian ritual, just as much as singing hymns and praying were.

But this does not fully explain the situation at Regent. Why should a group of previously unchurched people suddenly exhibit "revival type" signs. Their pastor, (indeed during the initial period, their schoolmaster), did not express himself in such ways in the services. Johnson was careful to proceed with a caution within his services, comments and actions from him such as removing out of the church those who were weeping and screaming, and warning his people not to behave in such a manner, illustrates his attitude to the unusual phenomena. Johnson was surprised when he began to witness what was happening. One explanation for the reason why such behaviour was found at Regent is the influence of the Nova Scotian settlers on the people there, for at this period in the colony the only people whose church services were noted for the dramatic signs and wonders were the settlers. Alongside

this reason it must be taken into consideration that the people of Regent had experienced the teaching of the Methodist representative, Hirst. Johnson was not the only missionary to be conscious of the effectiveness of the Nova Scotians at missionising. Garnon, writing about the situation in the Colony to Pratt the CMS secretary, said:

> Now I see the need of your throwing all your strength into the Colony, so that each town may be possess'd by us, otherwise not only Mr Davies but a sad mongrel set of Baptists etc. will get there'.[228]

Johnson warned his people about going to Freetown to the Methodist Church with which they appeared to have had some connection, but the indications are there that the so called "mongrel set of Baptists" and others were at work in the villages as well as in Freetown. Regent's Town Christianity is a presentation of Nova Scotian enthusiasm in its most active form. While the recaptives adopted the words of Johnson, they adopted the traditions and the rituals of their early role models who laid down the pathway for entry into the Christian Society.

Johnson was only one of many missionaries who went to Sierra Leone. While some struggled through their lives, short as they frequently were, never seeing a convert Johnson saw an exceptional church growth. The question remains why Johnson? There is no simple straight forward answer. His Moravian theology blended with Pell Street calvinism went some way in making his preaching so effective, as did his simple style, and his fatherly love. Those critical of him have seen his autocratic power and the exclusive sect that he turned the Christian community into a cause of the high numbers joining the church. What is clear is that the Christianity in Regent village owes a debt to the Nova Scotians and without their influence, and Johnson's character Regent could never have become as famous as it has in the history of Christian mission.

The missionary contribution to Christianity among the recaptives was great, the stone churches that stand in most villages provide an indication of the extent of missionary

activity that took place. The many memorials in churches and graveyards stand as pointers to the respect that villagers and those in Freetown had for those who took on the role of pastor, teacher, administrator, and carer. It was not in condemnation of the missionaries that the recaptives adopted traditions that bore similarity to the Nova Scotians. Rather it was in recognition that the Christian message that the missionaries presented was a message that had been real to the Nova Scotians and a message that had the potential to change the recaptives' lives and address the new era of life in Sierra Leone.

13. Summary

The early experiences of the CMS missionaries acting as chaplains in Sierra Leone, and those passing through to Susuland influenced and affected the CMS's future policy in the Colony. The initial experiences were not positive, and they did not herald in great hopes of a triumphant missionary endeavour. Instead, low church attendances, and tenuous relations with the Maroons and the Nova Scotians, seemed to point to an Established Church that was redundant in the face of active Methodist, Baptist and Countess of Huntingdon congregations. The initial system of apprenticeships for the newly arriving recaptives ensured that it was the Nova Scotians and Maroons, rather than the Europeans, who influenced the recaptives in their new lives and introduced them to a Nova Scotian and Maroon Christianity. Susuland appeared a more profitable and worthy venture to the CMS, Nylander's request to be transferred from his role as chaplain to the CMS mission points to where he saw the heart of the mission activity. The Anglican Church in Sierra Leone appeared to function primarily to provide the services of burying, marrying and baptising. Nylander had complained that if it were not for the attendance of the army, who were compelled to attend, there would be no-one at the services.

The CMS learned their lessons from the early days. Bickersteth, the CMS representative analysing the place of the Susu mission and the potential for a Sierra Leone mission, was an acute discerner. He saw that there was an immense mission

field among the ever increasing population of recaptives. More significantly, Bickersteth recognised that the plan MacCarthy was offering was the only possible way ahead for the CMS in Sierra Leone. The CMS could only function with Government backing and finances. It was obvious that the Nova Scotian Methodists were dominating Freetown life, and they had the personnel to dominate village life should they so choose. The numbers of recaptives who had joined the Methodists in Freetown were significant. Accounts of Nova Scotian mission within the area no doubt had reached Bickersteth's ears. Wenzel, in 1817, could complain of the mongrel set of Baptists who had been moved on from the village of Kissy and who were building another church halfway between Kissy and Freetown. Only by means of a strong control on the recaptives from a central position could the CMS hope to make an impact with its small resources and few men.

The religious life of the Colony at this time is best understood in the light of the relations between the Nova Scotians and the Methodist missionaries from England. In this tempestuous relationship it becomes clear how influential the Nova Scotians were, and how convinced they were that they knew the truth of religion and that they were the true Methodists, and the true Christians. Macaulay had clashed with them over their impropriety and their apparent lack of order and decorum. Davies, a rough Welshman convinced of his faith, was prepared to allow what Macaulay saw as impropriety. Indeed he wrote back to the Methodist Secretary rejoicing in the common bond with those who, "when the Spirit was poured out, were at a loss how to express themselves". Yet Davies found himself the subject of a bitter attack and was finally forced to leave the Society and retreat to Leopold. The reasons lay in the Nova Scotian perception of themselves as the true Methodists. True Methodists did not join together with the forces of a Government which had opposed the Nova Scotians and denied them their rights and particularly their promised land. Davies was accused of "lording it over them". A similar accusation was laid at Huddlestone's and Lane's feet a few years later. The same familiar issues were again the problem. The Nova Scotian Methodists refused to be subject to any authority, especially one that

appeared to be in close relations with the Government. They refused to have their actions questioned.

Both the CMS and the Methodist missionaries had come to Sierra Leone with certain expectations and particular ideas about how they would carry out their mission work. They saw their work as a two fold task, though all agreed that their goal was to convert the heathen. It was their prayer that Sierra Leone would emerge as a Christian Colony, to be a "beacon of light in Africa" and a civilised country. Christianity and civilisation went hand in hand, the one following the other. The morals of the Church would necessarily be the morals of the community. Evangelical Anglicanism and Methodism both stressed this. The Nova Scotian Methodists presented both a social and a theological problem. The noisy dramatic services were not conducive to a civilised way of life, and neither was the lack of respect the Nova Scotians had for the Government nor their seemingly lax interpretation of morality.

Their social behaviour was tied up with a greater theological issue. While their enthusiasm and excessive joyfulness may have reminded Davies of stories of the Evangelical revival, it reminded others of rather less savory events. Johnson was warned to caution against such excess of emotion in his services, because similar things had happened in the West Indies in Methodist congregations. As the Secretary reminded Johnson, such behaviour had not occurred in the Moravian churches in the West Indies.

Once the Anabaptists had presented Christendom with a challenge so powerful that it united Protestant and Catholic against them. Quakerism had shocked and worried the Anglican Church. Those in Britain felt that such behaviour, ie open displays of emotion in the Church, was not desirable. And yet here in the British Colony of Sierra Leone was Christian activity that was not unlike that of a century earlier.

The CMS missionaries had arrived not only with the task of converting the heathen but with the expectation that the Church of Christ would multiply in a certain way.

As an evangelical Society the CMS had evangelical expectations. There was the assumption that through the preaching of the word and the regular conducting of morning and evening prayer the "heathen" would begin to show an interest in the things of God. Drawn by God they would learn the truths of the Christian religion, and convinced of the truth would enter the church through the sacrament of baptism after giving a credible profession of faith. Once within the Church the missionaries hoped that the members would seek to live the Christian life and in doing so would become convinced of their utter unworthiness before a Holy God. Through this crisis of their faith they would experience an evangelical conversion and lead a life showing the signs of vital Godliness.

The missionaries did not find what they expected. Instead they found that a completely different pattern of conversion was appearing among the recaptives. It bore similarities to the Nova Scotian traditions. Mrs Garnon's comment that the excessive grief and the shaking on the floor was the manner in which many of the recaptives were affected told of a group of people influenced by the Nova Scotians. A particular paradigm of behaviour occurred that was similar to that of the classic evangelical conversion experience but it was accompanied by behaviour that neither the CMS nor the Methodist missionaries advocated.

It was in the village of Regent during the period of Johnson's supervision that the dramatic events appeared to be most concentrated. Here the CMS faced a quandary. The Church at Regent was successful, and the village was a perfect example of the success of the gospel in creating neat tidy, educated, industrious villagers. Everyone who entered the village reported in a favourable way on its success. Regent was a story that could not be kept from all the earnest supporters of the CMS. The question that must be asked of Regent is - was it the best example of what was happening all over Sierra Leone or was it unique? Either way a second question must be asked - how widespread, therefore, was the Nova Scotian religious impact in Sierra Leone?

If Regent was simply the best example of what was happening in many of the villages and in Freetown it becomes clear that the CMS success owes a debt to the Nova Scotian preachers and missionaries. Those who converted to Christianity in Regent did so following a pattern that they would have witnessed among the Nova Scotians. The tears and cries for mercy, the faints and shouts disturbed the church at Regent to such an extent that Johnson had to ban such activities and order those who were disturbing the service to be carried out. The activity moved elsewhere, and the long night time prayer meetings and praise meetings that Johnson frequently noticed absorbed this particular religious activity.

Other missionaries recounted similar happenings in their villages. During noted the loud groanings and cries for mercy. Later, Bultmann remonstrated with the Nova Scotian Jewett over the particular manner of conversion that Jewett and his tradition represented, after many of his congregations were affected by it. While this concentration of activity did not produce the sort of communities that Regent was famed for there is sufficient evidence to see that what was happening in Regent was also happening to a lesser extent in other places, and particularly in Freetown. Regent was unique only in the sense that Johnson was an unusual missionary whose theological outlook bore more in common with the sincerity of feelings of the Nova Scotians than with the thinking and background of many of the other CMS missionaries. Johnson's unhappiness about the lack of commitment from the other missionaries to the Bible Society meetings and Missionary Association meetings and prayer meetings, is countered by his enthusiasm for his own villagers, who regularly attended all prayer meetings held at Regent and willingly participated. Johnson was a child of a particular brand of evangelicalism. His very first sermon on ship to Sierra Leone was questioned as being too enthusiastic. His experience of salvation rising from deep despair to overwhelming joy and peace, and his constant fear of floundering from the truth of God and from the certainty of his own experience, affected his preaching and his personality. Johnson's complex personality and his evangelical convictions go some way in explaining the activities at Regent. He urged his villagers to repent of their sins and turn to Christ, and those who heard him could identify his

calling in the whole pattern of religious belief and behaviour that was in essence Nova Scotian.

The missionaries believed that the unusual signs and demonstrations, and the apparent excess of emotions would disappear as the recaptives gradually learned more of Christian doctrine and the Christian way of life. Education was to be the key. The problem was identified as one of ignorance. It was an understandable situation, inevitable with a group of people only recently rescued from the lowest form of barbarity. "Ignorance" went a long way as a means of explanation for all the problems that the missionaries faced. The whole force of Bultmann's discussion with Jewett lies in the "mistaken criterion" - it was Jewett, and the Nova Scotians who had made the mistake. The suggestion of the need for greater learning was not a new one. We have seen how Clarkson advocated that the chaplain turn his attention to teaching the Nova Scotian leaders, and how Macaulay urges Clarke to do like wise. The CMS Secretary wrote to the missionaries saying that an excess of emotion appeared a common way in which Africans expressed themselves until they knew better. Huddlestone and Lane complain of the ignorance of the Nova Scotian leaders in matters religious.

It is important now to consider how the recaptives themselves dealt with their religious beliefs and the extent to which their previous religious traditions affected their understanding of Christianity. Only in ascertaining the recaptives' religious responses to what they heard can a proper picture be presented of the development of Christianity in the Colony. The missionaries predicted that education would remove the excesses, and by the 1860s the Native Pastorate appeared devoid of such excesses. Were the missionaries right - or are there other reasons to explain the change in character of Sierra Leonean Christianity?

FOOTNOTES

1 CAI/E1 1. Dr Steinkopf had offered to ordain them but the CMS, concerned that Lutheran ordination in an English diocese might be regarded as irregular, sent the two men back to Germany to be ordained. CMS Committee Minutes, vol 1, p 120, 10 October 1803.

2 C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, London, 1962, p 95.

3 CAI/E1, 4 January 1805, Secretary to Prasse.

4 CAI/E1, 29 April 1807, Nylander to Secretary.

5 CAI/E2, 11 April 1810, Nylander to Secretary.

6 CAI/E2, 10 September 1809, Nylander to Secretary.

7 CAI/E1, 26 April 1805, Renner to Secretary.

8 CAI/E2, 4 September 1811, Nylander to Secretary.

9 CAI/E3, 21 April 1812, Nylander to Secretary.

10 CAI/E2, 9 December 1811, Nylander to Secretary.

11 CAI/E2, 16 September 1809, Wilhelm to Secretary.

12 CAI/E2, 30 December 1811, Nylander to Secretary.

13 CAI/E3, 24 July 1812, Nylander to Pratt.

14 CAI/E5, 25 August 1815, Nylander to Secretary. In a letter he notes finishing it.

15 Missionary Register, 1882, p 15.

16 CAI/E3, 20 January 1813, Renner to Secretary.

17 CAI/E2, 28 January 1810, Klein to Secretary.

18 C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p 104. Governor's Council, 1 September 1908.

19 Cited, C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p 107. Thompson to Castlereagh 17 February 1809. CO 267/25.

20 CAI/E3, 16 August 1813, Butscher to Secretary.

21 *Methodist Magazine*, XXXV, pp 795-6.

22 A church was later built at Kru town called St Thomas, Kru Church but no denomination ever really established themselves among the Kru.

23 CAI/E5, 3 June 1816, Butcher to Secretary.

24 *Sierra Leone Company Directors' Report*, 1808, pp 7-8.

25 Macaulay to Ludlam, 26/2/07. Cited, C Fyfe, A *History of Sierra Leone*, p 98.

26 C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, London, 1964, p 131.

27 The term recaptive is used because those who were taken off the ships had already been captured once and were being captured again by the British in Freetown.

28 The Directors of the Company had founded The African Institution in 1807 in an attempt to stimulate trade, promote African education and improve farming methods.

29 *The British Review*, London, 1822, no xxxvi, p 483.

30 C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p 109. See also R Thorpe, *A Letter to William Wilberforce Containing remarks on the Reports of the Sierra Leone Company*, London, 1815, The African Institute, Special Report of the Directors of the African Institute made at the African General Meeting on 12 April 1815 respecting allegations ... by R Thorpe, London, 1815.

R Thorpe, *A Reply, 'point by point' to the special report of the Directors of the African Institution and of the Controversy with Dr Thorpe, with some reasons against the Registry of Slaves in the British Colonies*, London, 1816. Philip Curtin in *The Image of Africa*, notes that the debate which Thompson initiates by raising objections to the apprenticeship situation brought him into direct conflict with the African Institute and ended in his recall.

31 Governor's Council, 12 February 1811, Colonial Office Sessional Papers 270/11:206-7, 9 March , 29 April 1811.

32 C.O. 267/42. Governor MacCarthy's dispatch no 74, 31 May 1816. Cited, C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, chapter 7, document 1, p 131.

33 Total number of slaves captured and landed from 1808-1830, 33,595. One fifth of these had died and a further 2,968 were unaccounted for in the 1830 Census. See, Kuczynski's analysis in his *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, London, 1848.

34 E R Norman, *Church and Society in England 1770 - 1970*, Oxford, 1976, p 18-19.

35 There has been no full length bibliography devoted to MacCarthy. See A F Walls, 'A Colonial Concordat: Two views of Christianity and Civilisation', in D Baker (ed), Church, Society and Politics (Studies in Church History, 12), Oxford, 1975, pp 293-302. Fyfe cites MacCarthy's entry in the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*.

36 CAI/E3, 27 February 1813, Butscher to Pratt.

37 Liberated African Department, *Letter Book*, 1820-26.

38 Peterson, *Province of Freedom*, London, 1969, p 114.

39 *Missionary Register*, 1816, Report of the visit of the assistant secretary to the settlements and schools of the Society of the Western Coast of Africa, p 403. Bickersteth was a Norwich Solicitor whose interest in the CMS and in the mission to Sierra Leone led to his invitation to travel to Sierra Leone and report on CMS activity. There is the hint in his letters that he was also being sent to fathom what actually was going on among some of the missionaries and he had been given the authority to expel any who were not of an appropriate standard, an authority which he never had to resort to. It was determined that Bickersteth should travel as an ordained representative of the CMS so he was ordained as deacon by the Bishop of Norwich on 10 December 1815, and a few

days later received priest's orders from the Bishop of Gloucester. He sailed to Sierra Leone on 24 January 1816.

40 CAI/E5 116, Bickersteth to Pratt.

41 *Missionary Register*, 1816, Report of the visit of the assistant secretary to the settlements and schools of the Society of the Western Coast of Africa, Edward Bickersteth, *A Memoir of Simeon Wilhelm*, London, 1839, pp 394-410 and p 401.

42 *Missionary Register*, 1816, p 407.

43 CAI/E5 116, conclusion of Bickersteth's report to the Committee.

44 CAI/0223, 25 June 1828, J G Wilhelm, *Freetown Report*, p 612.

45 Letter from Governor Thompson to Lord Castlereagh, March 1809, cited, Lamont D Thomas, *Rise to be People: A Biography of Paul Cuffe*, Chicago, 1986, p 137.

46 CAI/E2, letter from W Jenks to Secretary, 1809.

47 Governor Columbine's Commission of Inquiry, CO 267/29, cited, C Fyfe *History of Sierra Leone Inheritance*, London, 1964, p 113.

48 Zachary Macaulay, *Notebook*, 16/5/96 (in private hands). Cited, C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p 62.

49 Lamont D Thomas, *op cit*, p 54.

50 *Ibid*, p 68. Cuffe had provided a passage for four members of the Methodist Society in Britain. Lamont Thomas cites the 'African Correspondence', *William Allen Papers*. The letters involving Allen, Cuffe, and the settlers illustrate the triangular communication system initiated during Cuffe's meetings, Lamont D Thomas, *op cit*, pp 57-71.

51 C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p 101. European slave traders, including many renegades from the Company's service, came to settle in Freetown. They, and those who stayed on as traders, bought up good sites, built houses, and imported goods from Europe. The agency system on which the slave trade was based persisted: European Merchants sent agents, often settlers, up the rivers for rice to sell in the Colony, or for ivory or camwood to export. Thus the settlers, without capital or connexions in Europe, were confined to trading as agents, or to petty retailing.

52 CAI/E5, 28 August 1815, Renner to Secretary.

53 *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, London, 1789, reprint Paul Edwards, London, 1989.

54 Kizell to Allen, 9 February 1812, 'African Correspondence', pp 3-6, *William Allen Papers*. *The Philanthropist*, 2:201, summarised a letter from Cuffe to Allen dated 8 February 1812, on the same grounds.

55 Penalties were given for non-enrolment or non-attendance at practice exercises, militia men could be sent out of the colony for duty. CO 267/30, Maxwell to Liverpool, 29 July 1811. Cited, James W St G Walker, *The Black Loyalists. The Search for the Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*, London, Longman, 1976, p 278.

56 Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp*, London, Henry Colburn, 1820, p 377-8. See also, William Allen, *Life of William Allen*, 3 vols, London, 1846, vol 1, p 180.

57 Cited, Sheldon H Harris, 'An American's Impressions of Sierra Leone in 1811', *JNH*, 47, no 1, 1962, p 35-41.

58 William Fox, *A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions on the West Coast of Africa*, London, Aylott and Jones, 1851, p 209.

59 Letter published in *Methodist Magazine*, 1807, vol XXX, pp 283-4.

60 Macaulay to Wilberforce on the reasons for failure. *Missionary Magazine*, 1796, p 34.

61 *Methodist Magazine*, (new series), 8 March 1817.

62 Thomas Coke, *An Interesting Narrative of a Mission sent to Sierra Leone*, 1811, copy in the Methodist Missionary Archives.

63 William Fox, *op cit*, p 205.

64 *WMMS*, 1839, Healey and Hirst to Coke, 21 April 1812.

65 *Ibid*.

66 Fox, p 213. Blanshard took over responsibility for Methodist missions after the death of Thomas Coke in 1813.

67 *WMMS*, 1839, Healey and Hirst to Coke, 21 April 1812.

68 *WMMS*, 1839, T Hirst to Coke, 16 June 1813. 'The rains have started and the roof is off the old kitchen'.

69 *WMMS*, 1839, Davies to Blanshard, 10 August 1815.

70 *Missionary Register*, 1816, Report on West Africa, p 401.

71 *WMMS*, 1840, 6 April 1816, Davies to Blanshard.

72 *WMMS*, 1840, 13 June 1817, Davies to Fleming.

73 *Ibid*.

74 *WMMS*, 1840, 14 April 1816, letter from Settler Trustees to Davies.

75 *WMMS*, 1841, 9 June 1817, Brown to Secretary.

76 *WMMS*, 1840, 1 January 1817, Davies to Secretary.

77 *Ibid*.

78 *Methodist Missionary Magazine*, XXXV, p 639 and p 759.

79 Missionary Notices for April 1817, p 127. Cited, Fox, *op cit*, p 220.

80 *WMMS*, 1842, 20 May 1818, Brown to Secretary.

81 *Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, 1819, pp 30-32.

82 *WMMS*, 1843, 12 April 1819, Huddlestone to Secretary.

83 *WMMS*, 1843, 27 September 1819, Journal of George Lane.

84 *WMMS*, 1846, 11 June 1821, George Lane, Report.

85 *WMMS*, 1846, 11 June 1821, Huddlestone. See Thomas Raston's account of the early history of the Methodists. *WMMS*, 1908, 11 July 1849, T Raston to Secretary.

86 C Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p 136.

87 *WMMS*, 1842, 20 April 1818, Brown to Secretary.

88 *WMMS*, 1846, 11 June 1821, Huddlestone's report.

89 *WMMS*, 1847, 17 July 1822, Document from the Maroon Trustees.

90 *Ibid*.

91 *Methodist Magazine*, vol 2, 1822, p 50.

92 *WMMS*, 1849, 12 August 1823, Charles Shaw and the Leaders and Principal members of the Maroon Chapel.

93 *Missionary Register*, 1818, p 463.

94 *Ibid*, 1819, p 376.

95 *Ibid*, 1822, p 300.

96 CAI/059, 13 October 1841, Bultmann to Secretary.

97 W Fergusson, *A letter to T F Buxton esq. on the character of the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone and on the culture of others in that Colony and its vicinity*, London, 1839, p 9.

98 D J East, *Western Africa, its condition and Christianity, its means of recovery*, London, 1844, pp 243-4.

99 Anon, *Series of Letters from a Young Lady to her Sister 1832-34*, London, 1835.

100 Cited, D J East, *op cit*, pp 246-7.

102 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 240.

103 *WMMS*, 1840, 1 January 1817, Davies' Report on Leopold.

104 *Missionary Register*, 1820, p 15.

105 CAI/M4, 13 May 1822, Nylander to Secretary.

106 *Liberated African Letter Book, 1827-8*, 7 April 1828. James Cleugh to Mr Campbell (Manager of Kent).

107 CAI/E1, 22 April 1807, Prasse.

108 John Peterson, *Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone, 1787-1870*, London, 1969, p 130.

109 CAI/E5a, 20 January 1817, Renner to Secretary.

110 CAI/0126, 29 December 1821, Johnson to Pratt and Bickersteth.

111 *Liberated African Letter Book 1821*, Reffell, Chief Superintendent of the Captured Negroes, Freetown, 22 March 1821.

112 *Missionary Register*, 1825, p 147.

113 *Parliamentary Commission Inquiry*, PRO: CO267/90, Commissioner James Rowen to Hay, Cape Coast Castle, 20 September 1826. Cited, John Peterson, *op cit*, p 119.

114 CAI/042, 26 June 1828. W K Betts to Secretary.

115 *Liberated African Letter Book, 1831*, Governor to John Thorpe.

116 CAI/M4, 28 December 1824, Nylander to Secretary.

117 *Ibid*.

118 CAI/042, 25 March 1828, Betts' Report.

119 CAI/05, CMS Summary of Principles.

120 *Missionary Register*, 1820, p 257.

121 CAI/089, 15, 1817, During to Secretary.

122 CAI/E7, 6 July 1819, Taylor to Secretary.

123 CAI/089, 2 April 1820, During to Secretary.

124 CAI/040, 25 May 1825, Beckley to Secretary.

125 *Missionary Register*, 1832, p 430.

126 CAI/0232, 2 March 1832, Young to Secretary.

127 CAI/040, 25 May 1825, Beckley to Secretary.

128 CAI/0131, Kissling quarter ending 24 June 1834.

129 *Missionary Register*, 1840, p 98.

130 CAI/E5A, 6 November 1816, Johnson to Pratt.

131 CAI/0126a, 14 April 1820, Johnson to Secretary.

132 William Jowett, *A Memoir of the Rev W A B Johnson*, 1852, p 94.

133 CAI/E7A, 8 April 1819, Johnson to Secretary.

134 CAI/E6, 8 October 1817, Secretary to Wenzel.

135 Major A B Ellis, *The History of the West India Regiment*, chapter IX. Winwoode Reade was not the first to note that the common belief was that once baptised an African could not be held as a slave. This idea had been common among the black population of America and may well explain, (a) the reluctance of slave owners to allow their slaves to be baptised, and (b) the many slaves who came forward to be baptised in Nova Scotia. It has also been suggested that the significance of water within the Yoruba religion influenced the recaptive response to baptism. Melvor Wilson Colson in an article in the

Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Centre centres his attention on the symbolic power of water. He writes that for the Yoruba people water contains special powers and spirits and so there is always a pot of water placed in the god's shrines. Oya, the goddess of the River Niger, was said to have been the first wife of Sango, the thunder god. Through disillusionment with her husband she killed herself and entered the bosom of the earth from which she emerges in the form of the strong winds and the waters. From this Yoruba myth, Colson interpreted the Yorubas' reverence of water and sees their fascination with Christian baptism as their method of achieving the power within the water. Admittedly Colson was basing his analysis on the Black Churches of the States where the Baptist church and tradition is so much more prevalent but in Sierra Leone I do not think this case can be sustained. If it were true then we would expect to see a preponderance of Baptist churches where easy access was gained to the power centre, the water, but this does not occur. The predominant church was the Methodist church, and they did not concentrate on baptism. The relative nearness to the River Niger, and the consciousness that the goddess had emerged from there may have been a deterring factor against the use of water as a means to gain power, for the power one would supposedly gain would be of exceptional strength and potentially very dangerous. The presentation, by the missionaries, of baptism as the means of entry to a special membership; as a purifying act removing the sins of the past; and as a symbolic representation of Christ's death and resurrection, was sufficient to create a knowledge of the power within, without resorting to associations of the goddess of the Niger.

136 CAI/092, 12 February 1823, Colonial Chaplain, Flood to Secretary.

137 *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 24 August 1887.

138 CAI/089, 29 July 1820, During to Secretary.

139 CAI/0126b, 28 February 1820, Johnson's journal.

140 *Missionary Register*, 1830, p 310.

141 *Missionary Register*, 1823, p 109.

142 CAI/0126b, 17 May 1822, Johnson's journal.

143 CAI/0201, 9 February 1838, Steadman to Secretary.

144 *Missionary Register*, 1833, p 52.

145 *Missionary Register*, 1819, p 383.

146 *Missionary Register*, 1817, p 255.

147 CAI/0126b, 14 March 1822, Johnson's journal.

148 *Missionary Register*, 1818, p 345.

149 W Fox, *op cit*, p 227.

150 *WMMS*, London, Sierra Leone, 1834-40, Peter Nicholls. C Fyfe, 'Peter Nicholls: Old Calabar and Freetown', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 11, 1, 1960, pp 105-114 and p 108.

151 CAI/105, 10 July 1839, Graf to Secretary.

152 *Missionary Register*, 1832, p 431.

153 CAI/E8, 17 February 1820, During's journal.

154 CAI/105, 25 August 1838, Graf to Secretary.

155 CIA/0126b, 10 April 1822, Johnson's journal.

156 CAI/0126a, 14 March 1822. Johnson to Secretary.

157 CAI/E6 83, 13 October 1817, Bickersteth to Johnson.

158 CAI/0108a, 1832, Haensel to Secretaries.

159 CAI/0126, 7 August 1822, Johnson's journal.

160 CAI/0126, 9 April 1822, Johnson to Secretary.

161 *CMS Annual Report*, 1829.

162 CAI/059, 27 April 1844, Bultmann to Secretaries.

163 CAI/059, 4 March 1828, Bultmann to Secretaries.

164 CAI/E683, 13 October 1817, Bickersteth to Johnson.

165 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 190.

166 *Ibid*.

167 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1829-30, p 44.

168 CAI/059, 13 October 1846, Bultmann to Secretaries.

169 A B C Sibthorpe, *The History of Sierra Leone*, London, Cass and Co, 1970, p 30.

170 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 426.

171 CAI/E7, 23 March 1819, Johnson to Secretaries.

172 Minutes of Committee of Correspondence held at the Church Missionary House, 9 January 1815.

173 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 7.

174 Steinkopf was one of the Lutheran ministers in London at this time, he paid regular visits to Berlin on the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and he was instrumental in establishing the Missionary Institute there. His interest was in mission overseas, particularly in Africa. He kept the Berlin seminary informed of the work of the CMS sending to the Seminary a copy of the recently published 'Religious Instructions of the Susoos', Steinkopf was responsible for organising Lutheran missionaries to work with the CMS.

175 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 7.

176 Cited, *The Harbinger*, January - November 1862, p 27, 16 January 1854.

177 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 9.

178 *Ibid*, p 11.

179 *Ibid*, p 12.

180 Minutes of Committee of Correspondence, 9 January 1815, Church Missionary House.

181 *Missionary Register*, 1816, p 124.

182 *Missionary Register*, 1816, Report of the visit of the assistant secretary to the settlements and schools of the Society of the Western Coast of Africa, Edward Bickersteth, pp 394-410 and p 399.

183 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 27-28.

184 CAI/E4, 14 June 1814, Johnson's journal.

185 *Missionary Register*, November 1820, p 474.

186 CAI/E5, 24 June 1815, Butscher to Secretary.

187 CAI/E5A, 8 October 1816, Johnson to Secretary.

188 *Ibid*.

189 *Ibid*.

190 CAI/E5, 14 July 1816, Johnson's journal.

191 CAI/E6, 14 December 1817, Johnson's journal.

192 CAI/E6, 23 November 1817 and 11 March 1817, Johnson to Pratt.

193 CAI/E5A, 27 December 1816, Pratt to MacCarthy.

194 *Liberated African Letter Book*, 1819.

195 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 37.

196 CAI/E5A, 6 November 1816, Johnson to Secretary.

197 CAI/E6, 6 February 1817, Johnson to Secretary.

198 CAI/026, 3 October 1821, Johnson's journal.

199 *Ibid*.

200 CAI/E5A, 2 January 1817, Renner to Pratt.

201 CAI/E7, 15 July 1818, Johnson to Pratt.

202 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 48.

203 These night meetings may reflect the nighttime meetings that some of the Black loyalists would have taken part in when they were still slaves on the plantations.

204 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 75.

205 CAI/E8, 26 June 1819, Pratt and Bickersteth to Johnson.

206 CAI/E6, 6 April 1817, Johnson's journal.

207 *Ibid*.

208 CAI/E6, 21 December 1817, Johnson's journal.

209 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 110.

210 CAI/E6, 7 September 1817, Johnson's journal.

211 CAI/E5A, 15 July 1816, Johnson's journal.

212 W Jowett, *op cit*, pp 306-7.

213 *Ibid*, p 57.

214 *Ibid*.

215 CAI/E8, letter sent from one of the Communicants - 11 February 1820.

216 CAI/E7A, 30 January 1819, Cates to Secretary.

217 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 18.

218 W Jowett, *op cit*, pp 192-3.

219 CAI/0126, 14 November 1822, Johnson to Secretary.

220 *Missionary Register*, 1823, p 140.

221 *Missionary Register*, Midsummer report, 1822, p 5.

222 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 413.

223 *Ibid*, p 412.

224 May to Methodist Missionary Society, 14 April 1828, cited, J Peterson, *op cit*, p 117.

225 CAI/042, 26 June 1840, Betts to Secretary.

226 CAI/E7A, 26 May 1819, letter from W Tamba and W Davies. Letters were also sent from Peter Hughes and David Noah.

227 CAI/0219, December Report, 1841, Weeks.

228 CAI/E6, 26 March 1817, Garnon to Pratt.

CHAPTER THREE

Recaptive Christianity

1. Conversion - The Signs of Success

Missionary reports published in the *Missionary Register*, pamphlets, and stories told at Missionary Society Meetings created a picture of village churches in the colony with congregations dressed appropriately and behaving in an orderly and sober manner, praising the God who had rescued them out of their heathen darkness. A typical report publicised by the Societies is that of Mrs Jesty, the wife of a CMS Missionary. She wrote of her visit to the village of Regent in 1819:

> Just as we had reached the summit of the last mountain between Freetown and Regent's Town, the latter place presented itself to our view. As I walked down the mountain, pleased with the enchanting scene, I was in an instant lost in "wonder, love and praise." Music of the sweetest kind and possessing charms which I had never before experienced, burst upon my ears. It was moonlight; and all the houses being lighted up, I inquired of Brother Johnson from whence this sound proceeded. He pointed to the Church, which is situated at the side of a mountain, then opposite to us, and on the other side of a brook that runs from the mountains between the Church and the principal part of the town, over which Brother Johnson has caused his people to erect a strong handsome stone bridge....
>
> I hastened with all possible speed, down the mountain and up the other, to enter the Church, where I found upward of 500 black faces prostrate at the throne of grace. ...After service was over about 200 of the congregation surrounded us. They came in such crowds to shake hands with us, that we were obliged to give both hands at once. So rejoiced were they to see more labourers from "White-man's country" that after we left the Church, and had entered Mr Johnson's house, many, who from the pressure of the Church were not able to speak to and shake hands with us, entered the parlour....
>
> And the following day:
>
> At 10 o'clock I saw a sight which at once astonished and delighted me. The bell at the Church rung for Divine service; on which Mr Johnson's well-regulated Schools of boys and girls walked, two by two, to the Church - the girls extremely clean, and dressed entirely in white, in striking contrast of which were their black arms and faces - the boys, equally clean, were dressed in white trowsers and scarlet jackets....
>
> This was our last Sabbath spent at Regent's town. Never did I pass such a day in my dear native country. Never did I witness such a congregation in a professing Christian land nor ever behold such apparent sincerity and Christian love.[1]

The missionaries gave thanks to God for the "salvation of the heathen". The recaptives' prayers of thanksgiving were occasionally incorporated into letters sent to the CMS Secretary in London as proof that the missionaries were accomplishing the great task that had been set before them.[2] Once the recaptives had shown signs of interest in Regent, it was taken for granted that they would continue to do so. Missionaries saw the success of the Church at Regent as a breakthrough in missionary history in Sierra Leone. From then on, even though the world and the devil would put up obstacles, the missionaries believed that Christianity would develop among the recaptives proving that God saw the work of the two societies as His own.

Regent, and the other villages, provided the proof that Africans could convert from their traditional religions to Christianity. Much has been written on the nature of African conversion and numerous reasons put forward to explain the phenomenon. As A F Walls points out, in common historiography it is common to assert that the reasons for conversion were secular and ulterior.[3] Conversion was seen as a means to access the white man's power, or the white man's military might. Conversion has been interpreted as an option to alternative economic conditions, or a means to an alternative and securer political order.[4] Some of the secular reasons put forward have been reinterpreted to show that what may appear as a secular reason is in fact a religious reason for conversion. C C Okorocha has demonstrated that the search for power among Igbo society is fundamentally a religious search.[5] Arthur Porter in his work on the social stratification in Krio society acknowledges that conversion often appeared as a means to achieve social and economic advantage, that the stratification of society was based on religion and education and that there was pressure to conform and adapt in order to progress.[6] Religious conversion has been seen as going hand in hand with social and political conversion; it was difficult to adopt British civilisation in Sierra Leone without becoming Christian. While secular reasons to explain the story of the development of Christianity in Sierra Leone abound, it is important not to forget the missionaries' own impressions of why the recaptives were converting. In

a "Letter to Native Converts" written to celebrate the Jubilee of the CMS, the Secretaries of the CMS noted:

> It has pleased God in His great goodness to call you out of darkness into light, and to bring you from the bondage of Satan into the fold of His dear Son, through our instrumentality.[7]

In trying to understand not only what happened in Sierra Leone but why it happened it will be useful to examine one of the major debates on African conversion which has a bearing on the particular situation of the recaptives in Sierra Leone.

The Horton-Fisher debate provides a basis for understanding some of the reasons for their conversion. Both Horton and Fisher provide significant pointers along the path to understanding but neither of their arguments offer a comprehensive analysis.[8]

2. The Debate on African Conversion

Robin Horton, in tackling the question of why people convert, asked why people should have felt constrained to invent symbols with such very odd attributes as those of unobservabilty and omnipresence. By using what he referred to as the "intellectualist approach" he proceeded to offer an explanation for these categories and to show that conversion was dependent on the place of the categories in the African community. The approach, he argued, took "systems of traditional religious beliefs at their face value - i.e. as theoretical systems intended for the explanation, prediction and control of space-time events".[9] Using this analysis of religion he reinterpreted changes in patterns of beliefs as examples of changes in the social organisation and their accompanying cosmological changes.[10]

In traditional religions the role played by the minor divinities was contrasted with the role of the supreme being in modern societies. The core of cosmology in a traditional community was the system of ideas about unobservable deities whose actions underpinned all activity in the world, the system which provided the instrument for

explanation, prediction and control. The system was two tiered; on the first level there were the lesser divinities whose business it was to maintain the local order of day to day activity, i.e. the microcosm. On the second level there was the supreme being who was concerned with the world as a whole, the macrocosm, for this being ultimately controls all.

Horton sees most events affecting people living in "pre-modern" situations as occurring within the microcosm of the local community. As a result, the lesser spirits gain a high respect within this microcosm for they are the ones seen as influencing events. When the macrocosm is introduced via the outside world of communication etc. people find that their lesser spirits are unable to offer adequate assistance in the face of the extended boundaries. The lesser divinities appear to retreat and the supreme being is re-articulated to give it a greater role. Horton believed that if a situation arose where thousands of people found themselves outside the microcosms, and if those left inside saw the boundaries weakening if not actually dissolving, they could only interpret the changes by assuming that the lesser divinities (underpinners of the microcosms) were in retreat and that the supreme being (underpinner of the macrocosm) was taking over direct control of the everyday world. From this perception of the role of the supreme being the lesser divinities came to be seen as irrelevant or even evil.

For Horton therefore, the acceptance of Islam and Christianity was due to the development of the traditional cosmologies in response to other features of the modern situation, features which the traditional cosmology could not cope with. He believes his view explains why both Islam and Christianity have had such meagre results, why Africans reject the other-worldliness of Christianity (the explanation, prediction and control functions); and why converts to the world religions "form a continuum, ranging from the man whose ritual approaches to the supreme being in mosque or church are just an occasional extra in religious life largely taken up with the cult of the lesser spirits, through the man for whom the cult of the supreme being and the cult of the spirits are of equal importance to the man whose approaches to

the supreme being take up the whole of his religious life."[11] For Horton the major religions are no more than catalysts to this change from micro to macrocosmic thought.

Horton was confronted by the Islamicist Humphrey Fisher who contended with Horton's dismissal of Christianity and Islam as simply developments of traditional faiths to less traditional faiths. Horton's response was to argue that it is wrong to treat any human group as a *tabula rasa* able to absorb a completely new cultural identity. Horton wrote:

> Amongst those that respond, many do so by throwing up forms of religious life that bear the most tenuous relation to the forms presented in the original stimulus. Here, it stares one in the face that the crucial variables are not the external influences (Islam, Christianity), but the pre-existing thought patterns and values, and the pre-existing socio-economic matrix.[12]

Horton's final analysis of conversion is that where the microcosmic boundaries are weakened increased attention is paid to the supreme being.

Horton deals with the supreme and the lesser divinities using the western philosophical pattern of thought and working on the assumption that if one is prominent the other is not prominent; if one is specifically called by name and the other is not, then the named one has much more significance. It is surprising that Horton argues so, considering his own writings on the different modes of thought between various peoples.[13] Fisher argued that he could see no reason why the adherents of African traditional faiths should interpret changes in their society along the particular thought pattern that Horton suggests, evolving a monotheistic moral code for the wider world. There is a bias within Horton's own thinking emerging from 19th century attitudes of progression to the Highest.[14]

The "sea change" that the gods in exile underwent did not produce their dismissal and the instatement of a high god. The numerous spirit cults; Trinidadian shango, candomble in Brazil, santeria in Cuba and vaudou in Haiti, the convince cult, and the

lucumi cult, all stress the paramount importance of the spirits controlling life. Raboteau notes that in Haiti though the belief in the Supreme Being (Gran Met) is there, it is the spirits, the vaudou lau, who control human affairs.[15]

Fisher looked at conversion among the Black Muslim population in order to show that far from Islam being only the stimulator and the accelerator of changes which were already in the air, it was the change itself. Fisher characterised the pattern of Muslim acceptance in three stages - quarantine, mixing, and reform. The quarantine stage consisted of new comers - who belong to the new religion - coming into a society; the stage of mixing developed in which people combined their pre-muslim ideas with the muslim teachings and finally, as the pre-muslim traditions gained more and more prominence, a period of reform was introduced by muslims to eradicate all that was not contained in the orthodox beliefs.

Fisher tries to fit the evidence concerning conversion into this three fold sequence. In the stage of quarantine, there were no large scale conversions and so orthodoxy was relatively secure. Those who believe are the outsiders who have come in for whatever reason to an area where traditional African beliefs are held. Fisher comments that the first Christians were all outsiders; the slaves in America, the recaptives in Sierra Leone, and the muslims of the Galla and the Bambara. He does recognise that detachment was rarely absolute, and old habits and beliefs were often carried into the new life.

It is when the quarantine barriers are down and people begin to be attracted to the religion of the outsiders that the danger of mixing increases. Fisher noted that the introduction of the major world religions tended to be accompanied by the art of writing and literacy. This had the ability to capture the divergence between the past and the present, showing the inherent inconsistencies between the two ways of life. Fisher quotes Goody and Watt speaking of the "notion of the world of knowledge as transcending political units" and he points out that this notion would have critical importance for the reforming muslim though they would not speak of the world of

knowledge so much as of the authority of Allah and his Law.[16] Fisher argues that conversion is not simply the initial process but each stage; the acceptance of the new religion; the mixing; and the reforms, is a form of conversion. He wrote, "When the time comes for the explosion [the reform], this too is a form of conversion, for the concept applies to two distinct crises of religious development: exchanging one faith (or none) for another, and exchanging indifference and dilution for fervency within the same faith".[17] This is an important feature of conversion, for religious traditions all give account of periods of reform or revival where conversion occurs. "The fact that Horton's is bound almost exclusively to the first sense only of conversion means that the essential underlying movement of religious growth, through the first conversion towards the second is lost."[18]

While Fisher's scheme allows a much wider view of conversion and acknowledges the notion of reform as conversion, the criticism that has been laid at Fisher's feet is the failure to produce an explanation for the underlying sequence of progression towards a purer religion. Fisher offers reasons such as the effect of the break-up of empires, the effect of conquest in liquidating traditional beliefs and the effect of literacy working as a time bomb for reform, but there is insufficient analysis of the reasons.

Both Horton and Fisher deal with the reasons why the forms of Christianity and Islam look nothing like the originals. For Horton the reason is because the religions have only acted as a catalyst in quickening change in the traditional religions anyway, changes which would have occurred without either of the religions, and the absence of a repetition of the religion is proof of this. Even though people have redeveloped their world view to make sense of the new boundaries they still need to re-articulate their religion within their own functional needs. They therefore adopt what in the new religion makes sense and restructure what does not in order to live by it. Hence, in Horton's view, the emergence of those things that would assert that "the core of the Western world view is a theoretical model of the macrocosm based on personal forces, and which present a theoretical scheme which is concerned with the explanation, prediction and control of space-time events."[19]

For Fisher the reason is different. He sees the "forms of religious life that bear the most tenuous relation to the forms presented in the original stimulus" as the result of the inevitable mixing stage.[20] Fisher recognises that much more needs to be written on this "mixing stage", which he refuses to call syncretism because, he argues, it "suggests rather more of a formulated conscious combination of religions" than the mixing stage would seem to allow.[21] The recaptives' acceptance of Christianity can be understood using the thought process of Robin Horton, or it can be interpreted by adapting Humphrey Fisher's analysis of quarantine, mixing and reform. There is evidence for both theories in Sierra Leone, and neither alone can adequately explain why the recaptives converted and how.

Using Horton's theory on conversion and relating it to the situation in Sierra Leone we have to draw up a picture that looks like this. The recaptive people, before they were captured and sold as slaves, lived in a microcosmic world. After capture they were introduced into a macrocosm. According to Horton the widening of the boundary of the microcosm would have inevitably resulted in a re-allocation of the role of the lesser and supreme spirit. The lesser spirits would have faded as the recaptives saw them as incapable of sustaining this new world. The spirits' failure was already apparent in that they had allowed the recaptives to become prisoner in the first place. In place of the lesser spirits the Supreme Being would take over. The recaptives' exposure to Christianity would inevitably meet a positive response as the recaptives sought to articulate their new way of life and the role of the supreme being in it.

However, conversion to Christianity took place within microcosmic boundaries that were re-constructed by a number of the recaptives in their search for an identity with the strangeness of the land. In the villages old societies emerged, the languages re-instituted themselves and the familiar patterns of life evolved, albeit in a different setting with different influences. What the missionaries introduced in the forms of schools, benefit societies and communicants' classes may have been the catalysts which allowed a greater perception of the world outside West Africa to develop. On its own

this greater perception was not the sole cause of the reformulation of the concept of the supreme being.

Fisher mentions the recaptives coming into Sierra Leone as proof that those whose views were placed in quarantine were often outsiders prised in some way from their former status and society.[22] Then a gradual mixing process occurred between Christianity and the traditional religions of those living in Sierra Leone, the Mende and Timne. It is perhaps easier to understand his theory of quarantine and mixing if we turn the chronological tables upside down and, instead of looking at the recaptives, examine the Nova Scotians as those who came in to the society. The recaptives coming in later, gradually become involved in a mixing process combining their traditions with Christianity and reinterpreting Christianity to themselves.

The two theories owe a certain amount to the work of A D Nock who considered the reasons for the acceptance of Christianity in the early centuries. Nock saw Christianity as a prophetic religion encountering non-prophetic religions which did not demand a change of mind but only adherence to their systems. Conversion, which occurred when people were brought face to face with a prophetic religion, was:

> a deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new was right"[23]

So, did the recaptives make a conscientious rejection of their traditional religions and chose that which they saw as right? Did the enlargement of their boundaries necessitate the adaptation of their religions to explain a wider world, or did they participate in a mixing process absorbing the ideas of another religion into their own until a period of reform or revival segregated the ideas and made Christianity orthodox again?

The most important question, however, is how did the recaptives understand and interpret their own religious actions.

3. The effect of Transportation on the Recaptives

The recaptives entered Sierra Leone with nothing, and many of them were suffering from malnutrition, skin diseases, and numerous other infections picked up from living in squalid conditions aboard ship.[24] Their experience while at sea of ill treatment from both European and African, remained as an indelible memory. Their journey separated them not only physically from the land that was their home, from their family, their work, and their religious system, but also psychologically. They were a changed people. Stripped of their cultural identity, they were forced to create another from what they could glean from the various groups within the colony; the Nova Scotians, the Maroons, the missionaries, and the other recaptives. The disorientation that the slave trade caused was total. The power of the religious systems that each had trusted in was seen to have failed in that protection had not been provided. The artifacts of the various religious systems were no longer available, the religious leaders were, at least in the early days of the Colony, back in their villages far away. For many of the recaptives their world views had been turned upside down.

It was within the ships that the recaptives began their adaptation to their new life. By grouping together with those who could understand them in their own language an immediate bond was created that remained intact for not only the duration of the ship journey but for the duration of their lives in Sierra Leone. Having left behind the family and social network that had supported them, those whom they met on board became an alternative kinship group. The groups formed on board became known as companies.

W Hamilton, a village Manager from 1834-7 wrote of the companies:

> The inhabitants of those villages are a very sociable, friendly, and well-behaved set of people; they are in the habit of forming themselves into charitable clubs or societies, which they call companies. If a slave-vessel arrives with people of different tribes or nations as soon as they are located they form themselves into clubs (with the exception of those who are resolved upon abandoning their locations as soon as their allowance of 2d *per diem* finally ceases), including the whole of their shipmates, without distinction of nation, for the purpose of

> affording mutual assistance, whether it be for procuring food, raiment or lodging, or such minor acts of kindness which are within the reach of every individual; for instance, to visit and cherish them in sickness, to encourage them under any palaver or trouble they may have the misfortune to be labouring under; this general club or company they call *Big Company*, in contradistinction to another which every member is at liberty to join, consisting of a smaller number of persons, but the characteristic feature of which is, that the society is made up of people of one nation exclusively; this last they call *Little Company*. Females are admitted to these associations, if they like to take the benefit of them, which is often the case with widows.[25]

J W Weeks, one of the CMS missionaries, was shocked to find that in 1834 there were 9 or 10 Companies in Regent alone. One Company in particular caused him much grief because of the blatant sinfulness of its activities. He was impressed however, when after a long discussion with the company leaders it was possible to come to an agreement and draw up new rules that the missionary found acceptable. As a peace offering the Company presented Weeks with 25 dollars.[26]

The Companies acted as microcosms of the greater world; they provided a system of cohesion, of morality, and of economic and political control that was indispensable to the recaptives, torn from their own societies and thrust into a foreign land. The Companies provided a group identity, particularly when they consisted only of those from a single ethnic group. Benefit societies ensured a measure of security against the unexpected - fines from the village managers, illness, bad harvests, or other financial difficulties. They provided assistance within the life of the community; if anyone needed help on their farms, help erecting a hut or help with the birth of a child they could call on the Benefit Society.

The Benefit Societies worked as a law unto themselves regulating the morality of the small group of members. Most societies had strict penalties for those found guilty of seduction of one of the female members. William Hamilton, a village Manager, noted that a person charged with seduction should, "forfeit the sum of five shillings; and on refusing to pay the same, shall be expelled from the company".[27] The Companies not only dictated on moral issues, they also controlled what happened in the area of

"country fashion". It was in this realm that the Companies had the most power and the missionaries had the most problems.

Igbo Company rules forbade any person to involve himself in country practices, particularly the use of medicines. Regarded as extremely potent, these medicines were to be under the control of the company and no one else. On one occasion when a medicine man died in Freetown and his house was bought by a recaptive, steps were taken to clear away all medicine from the grounds of the property in case the dead man, who had hanged himself, came back for them. The recaptive asked an old recaptive, one of the communicants at Kissy, who had at one time been a medicine man himself, if he would come and remove them. This old Christian came to the house at midnight and stealthily removed them, throwing them into the sea. The old man, not very well anyway, became more seriously ill. A fellow communicant informed him that the cause of his illness lay in the fact that the medicines had seized him when he was removing them from the place they had been buried, and that his only cure would be to resort to country fashion. Angry, the old communicant approached Denton, his minister, but before Denton could deal with what had happened the Igbo Company became involved, conducted a trial and fined both men for their association with country practices.[28]

One of the most famous Benefit Societies was that established by Abraham Potts.[29] His rules insisted that no one get drunk, fight or steal. If anyone was sick they would be supported financially from the contribution made by other members and if they died the Box would support their widows. Monthly subscriptions were added to by the small fines imposed on any member who was found drunk in public. Branches were formed in all the villages where disbanded soldiers were living, although it was also open to recaptives. The society consisted mainly of Igbo, Potts himself being Igbo. Potts went by the title of King. Governor Neil Campbell, appointed Governor in 1826, attempted to break up this Company claiming it was exercising illegal jurisdiction. After Campbell's death, recaptives reconstituted the Company and the government, anxious to be rid of the responsibility of caring for the widows and

destitute, tacitly agreed. At Wellington and Benguema societies were organised with title roles such as, - "King", "Judge", "Governor", "Secretary", "Constable". Several of the titles taken by the dignitaries of Companies were the names of important people who had lived in the colony, eg. Macaulay, Joseph Refell, Robert Dougan, W H Savage.[30] King John Macaulay, who had held a post at the Liberated African Yard, until Governor Kennedy, fearing Macaulay's control, quashed the post - was the leader of a Benevolent Society. This Society consisted mainly of Aku and in the 1850s raised money for the Yoruba Mission.[31]

The missionaries regarded the Societies as hives of sinfulness. Graf wrote of them: "the influence they exercise is ...destructive of all order and loyalty."[32] At Benguema the society was accused of being a witch society able to kill and eat people by occult means. Others were accused of using medicines and of conducting trials by using country diviners to discover thieves.

The establishment of Christian Relief Companies became common as one missionary after another attempted to dispel the control that the peoples' own societies had over them.[33] When one woman informed Ebenezer Collins, a missionary at Waterloo, that her absence from church was legitimate as she had to attend her Company, he sought to instigate an alternative Church Company and a decision was taken by all the missionaries of the CMS in the Colony to insist that all new communicants renounce their association with the companies once they became members of the church.[34]

Other missionaries made regular attempts throughout the century to defuse the power that the companies had over members of the church. Graf founded a Christian Relief Company in Hastings under the management of a committee of eight people from six different ethnic groups and believed it worked favourably. The Company had more than fifty pounds in hand and had "relieved to the amount of 30 pounds":

> There have been numerous clubs or Benefit Societies established among the people, in which the Christians and the Heathen have been accustomed to mingle together, and in which drinking and revelry prevailed. The Missionaries

> have succeeded in establishing Christian Societies in opposition to these; and though the people have been very reluctant to give up the advantages and pleasures of the mixed Societies, and many have refused, yet others have been rescued from evil communications and a testimony has been borne, which it is trusted will, in time, produce much good.[35]

The Christian Relief Companies proved to be one of the most powerful arms of the Church. Their effectiveness has not been measured but it was a step towards a recognition of the wholeness of African culture. The societies were at the heart of the recaptives' understanding of community, and the most successful missionaries were most certainly those who adapted the Company form to the church. While there were numerous criticisms that the Christian Companies provided a religious cover for the continuing practice of traditional rites, those who provided space for the Christian Companies were moving along the road to a recognition of what the recaptives could offer to Christianity.

4. The Form of Recaptive Christianity

i. The Recaptive Understanding of God.

From the recaptive accounts of their experiences of God it is apparent that the recaptives believed that the God of the Christians had always been with them. Their prior lack of awareness of this was due to the fact that they did not recognise or know how to call upon the power that was looking after them.

John Attara, one of the recaptive school teachers testified to his belief that:

> The Lord Jehovah spoke to me that his purpose concerning me was nearly to be fully accomplished. And that in a few days more he would bring me to where he had appointed me - *vis* Sierra Leone.[36]

At the stage of his life he was describing, Attara believed that he was not a Christian. It was later, when he was a resident in Regent village, that he was "first brought to a knowledge of himself as a great sinner and of my Blessed God and Saviour as a

sufficient and willing Saviour."[37] Yet the Lord Jehovah features in his understanding of his life before he met the missionaries. A Wolof man living in Leicester told Wilhelm:

> Massa, that time when white people bring me in a big vessel to this country... me no sabby nothing, me no hear nothing of God. No more, - me see bye and bye: me can work for myself - me can sell what grows in me own luggard, (field) - me free. Well, all that can't enough. God bring me to this place, me must learn to save my soul.[38]

Others told their ministers that the slave ships had caught them because it was God's will. One man told Johnson: "I was so afraid when I got into the slave ship, but by God's providence I am come to this country". Another, telling Taylor of his story, spoke in amazement of how God had taken care of him: "plenty people what been strong past me die on ship, Me been poor too much, but God bring me here to hear his word."[39]

At the second anniversary of the Missionary Association, held in Freetown on the 25 February 1820 a number of recaptives described their conversions. Their stories all reflect a similar belief that God had brought them to Sierra Leone. They recorded no surprise in discovering who God was; instead they said that the knowledge that they now had Him helped them to know more about the one whom they had prayed to in their countries and on board ship. As a recently converted recaptive from Regent said at the anniversary meeting:

> When I live in my country, fight come; they catch me; and when I live in ship I sick too much. But God know what was good for me. Plenty people jump into the water and I want to do the same but God would not let me. He prevented me and brought me here. If the Lord had not brought me here I would not have come.[40]

Another said:

> I dare say some people say, "some white people bring me to this country". But they are only instruments: it was God that brought me here to hear of Jesus the Saviour of sinners.[41]

One girl told Johnson:

> After the man that buy me look at me he say, "That girl no good, she go die, I will kill her, she no good to sell." A woman live there - she beg the man not to kill me. O Massa, God send that woman to save my life.[42]

While comment after comment by the recaptives points to the fact that they believed God was with them long before they knew His name, it is important to consider why they did not, in consequence, use the vernacular name for God.

The recaptives called the God of the new religion Christianity by the names the missionaries and teachers gave them; God, Jehovah, the Lord. In other areas on the West Coast of Africa where the missionaries had entered into a society the words the missionaries and the people used for God were words already there in the local language for the supreme being.[43] Sierra Leone was different. There was not a common language apart from the new language that was being taught, English, and it was this language that structured the form of Christianity, as it structured the lives of the recaptives.

ii. A God of Power and Authority

The God whom the recaptives worshipped was seen to be a God of power and authority. He was also a God who was involved in the details of the recaptives' lives. Any accident that occurred was seen as God's doing, to make them better or to punish them for doing wrong. When a recaptive accidentally cut himself on his hand he told During it was because he went that morning without praying.[44] Another recaptive told Johnson that he had gone down to the brook with a bad girl and so had hurt his toe against a stone. Sickness was often believed to be caused by God. One communicant told the newly arrived school teacher that God had made his wife very ill so that he would "be led to the throne of Grace".[45] Another, who had buried his child and taken sick that same day, had told Johnson: "I did too much sin and now God punish me. O that the Lord Jesus would punish my sin."[46]

Some of the recaptives interpreted the death of many of the missionaries as God punishing the people for their sins. Thomas Morgan in his report to the Committee in London on his return from Sierra Leone, told them of one man from Regent who had said, "We have done something very bad, - God is very angry. He is removing all our teachers."[47]

The recaptives believed that there were divinities that could also cause sickness as a punishment for not offering appropriate prayers and libations. The missionaries partly encouraged the recaptives' beliefs in the evil divinities, telling them that the devil was an "evil one". The recaptives' own ideas of evil were drawn into this framework and they quickly adopted the missionary word "devil" to collectively express their views on bad fortune and evil inexplicable events. But the missionaries were also guilty of partly ignoring the recaptives' interpretation of the devil when it went outwith the bounds of Christian teaching. The missionaries told the recaptives what they (the recaptives) had regarded as religion before was nothing but a pack of lies introduced by the devil to blind their eyes from God. There seemed no other explanation for the preponderance of so many so called "falsehoods".

Missionary Christianity presented the devil as the opposer of all that was good and of God. The recaptives gave the devil characteristics and a personality. There was, the recaptives believed, a constant battle between the devil and Christ fought out in the spiritual universe over the recaptives' hearts. One communicant reported to Robert Beckley, a Colonial school teacher:

> The Devil was strong very well but the Lord Jesus Christ was stronger than Devil and was able to deliver him out of his hands.[48]

The people also believed that the devil attacked them in very direct ways. When Graf went to visit one man (whose wife was a member of the church) to ask why he did not attend church, the man told him that the devil prevented him from going. Graf

refused to accept the reason as anything more than an excuse for laziness.[49] Another man came to Bultmann telling him that "the devil tief me this morning and make me sleep and church begin." One of the recaptives was overheard praying:

> we no able for ourselves to help ourselves. Devil strong pass we, but O Lord have mercy on our souls.[50]

The recaptives believed that the devil was stronger than they were but Christ was stronger than the devil. John Gerber reported meeting an old Hausa woman who was a strict worshipper of two "idols" of wood in the figure of a man and a woman which she called, *Bacumbagee*. From time to time she sacrificed a fowl to it but on converting to Christianity she destroyed it:

> convinced by the Spirit of God that she was thus ignorantly worshipping the devil, cut her Idols to pieces and threw them away, and is now worshipping God in spirit and in truth.[51]

Such an action was a recognition of the power of the Spirit of God over the power of the devil and a definite proof that the convert believed God was on their side. Many of the recaptives found themselves in an uncertain situation when they stopped sacrificing to their old gods and pouring libations to their ancestors for protection and blessing, and yet were unsure whether God would protect them. The greatest fear for the missionaries was that of being outside of God's protection at the time of death; but for the recaptives the fear of being outside God's protection was ever present, and not just at death. The recaptives had a tremendous sense of their own vulnerability. In a world where powerful divinities abounded, protection was essential, and it was for this reason that communicants continued to resort to "greegrees" and to building shrines. An excommunicated member of the Church was in a limbo position that was extremely dangerous and vulnerable. The desperate appeals of excommunicants to be readmitted to the Church gives full proof of this. No one could live on one's own without either the protection of God or the spirits, as the communicant told Johnson, "Suppose Christ leave us today we fall into Hell."[52]

ii. The Power and Place of Greegrees

There was continual tension between the new religious traditions of the church and the old ones, from the days before capture. Missionaries recount story after story of coming across shrines and meetings where villagers, and many times churchgoers and church members, were found offering sacrifices to certain gods in order to achieve something. There were cases of communicants getting loans of greegrees in order to harm their fellow countrymen,[53] and of communicants who when sick resorting to their country ways for healing. One communicant told his fellow communicants at Kissy that he intended to forsake God and no longer pray to him until his idol made him better and then he would return.[54] This was not hypocrisy, as the missionary believed, but an indication of the recaptives' perception of the power of the spiritual world.

The power that lay within what the missionaries referred to as the recaptive's "idols" - their images of gods and spirits often carved from wood or even just strips of wood or stone - was a power that remained for many of the recaptives. The missionaries encouraged the recaptives to burn their "idols" and greegrees seeing them as false gods, redundant pieces of wood and cloth and string with no power or value. There are numerous accounts of the recaptives coming to the churches laden with the carvings of their old gods and greegrees in order that these could be destroyed. Those who did so acted bravely. But the belief in the gods and spirits never disappeared, and even when the shrines were broken up and the wooden and stone images cast down, the churchgoers were still aware that it was only because God was stronger than the other gods that enabled them to do this. They did not think, as many of the missionaries did, that the gods and spirits were only figments of their imagination. They still had a power to injure and harm them. One communicant came to Kissling and complained that her husband was a "gross idolater", and had ill treated her because she wanted to join the church. He had ascribed the death of their only child to her way of worshipping God and threatened that he would take away her life if she did not cease attending the church meetings and join him again in the exercise of

"country fashion". The blame was laid on the woman because in worshipping God, she was not offering worship to the spirits that would have protected the child's life.[55]

Spiritual powers were attributed to other objects and creatures also. When Graf was told by one of his villagers that he had not attended church because on the way there he had met his favourite snake which he worshipped, and had taken it as a bad omen, Graf was shocked. He pointed out that the snake had no power, but the Church member was not prepared to take the risk.[56]

Young, a CMS missionary in Kent, came across some models of clay in the form of a sphinx. He went to destroy the sphinx believing it to a "false idol". His companions, a recaptive Methodist minister and a candidate for baptism, both shuddered with horror and the Methodist minister called out, "Please, Massa, that can do you harm, do not touch it." Young asked them what harm it could do and they both said that if anyone thieved from the farm the greegree would kill him before they reached home.[57]

There were many cases of communicants getting loans of greegrees to protect themselves, or to do some evil against their enemies. Nancy Macaulay, one of the recaptive female communicants living in Regent, had gone to a greegree man to heal her swollen hand. She told Graf what had happened; that the man had taken a stone, placed it in her hand, chewed white Kola, spat in her hand and told the stone to convey the sickness away from Nancy to another.[58] J F Schön wrote back to the Secretary in London telling him of the abuse of greegrees in his village:

> A man who had received the sacrament for several years and against whose character nothing material could be said, was still living in much darkness of sin, and destitute of the light of the gospel. His crime appears the more odious when we look at the malignity of his intentions, for the accomplishment of which he took refuge under superstition or the powers of darkness. He endeavoured to get the loan of greegrees from others in order to spoil the heads of two men, one a communicant, who he said, took his bread or service from him. When he was examined he tried to deny everything....
>
> A few days afterwards he came to me saying his heart troubled him much, and his case had not been well settled; that the witnesses told lies against him; and

> that he only inquired for greegrees in order to cure his cough, and not to hurt anybody. I was anxious to make him understand that the one was as sinful as the other, but it did not seem that he saw the truth of it. I am sorry to say there is great reason to fear that many, even of the communicants, when they, or the members of their family are sick, have recourse to such things.[59]

The clash of perceptions on the right and wrong use of the greegree indicates the extent to which the old religion of the recaptives had influenced and controlled their understanding of Christianity. For the recaptive, the use of the greegree for good purposes i.e. for healing was acceptable. It was the use of the greegree for sorcery that was wrong. Two world views meet and diverge again within this story. Schön failed to see what the recaptive meant, or to distinguish the various levels of thought implicit in what was being said. For Schön it was the use of the greegree that was sinful; there was no concept of a good or right use and an evil use.

For the recaptive it was not the use of the greegree in itself but the intent behind its use that was important. When the intention was to disturb another person's life the recaptive knew, without the missionary telling him, that what he was doing was not something good. When the people of Waterloo were criticised for associating with a local blacksmith and participating in his country fashion they strongly objected. They claimed that their use of country customs did not have any religious significance; rather they were being used to heal the sick of the village. They told Graf it was their right to practise their healing medicines; and that he ought not to interfere for, "black men had their own customs just as white men had theirs".[60] In 1817 the three villages Cosso Town, Congo Town and Bassa Town were united together under the name Wilberforce Town, and Cates, an English missionary from the CMS, took up residence there. Cates was agitated with some of the people:

> Among our people we have a class who have renounced their superstitions and have learned to pray to one God in "White Man's fashion", as they term it, and, on this account, they seem to entertain so high an opinion of themselves as to think they can now claim Heaven in their own right.
>
> Another class still retain their country fashions: trusting in Greegrees and other lying vanities, they seldom attend worship, and are averse to any sort of instruction, particularly of a religious nature.[61]

The art of greegree making had come with the recaptives. One of the communicants in the village of Regent told Johnson how he had learned the art:

> That time I live in my country I live with a man that make Greegree. He take me into the bush and teach me to make Greegree too. He show me a tree: he say, that Greegree - tree, he take country axe and cut some of that tree. He make a god; and he take the leaves and that which was left, and give me to carry home. When we come home he make fire; and all people come and sit around the fire. Then they cook and eat. When they done eat the man take the leaves of the Greegree-tree and burn them in the fire; and then all the people stand around the fire and clap hands, and cry "Aha, Aha".[62]

Another recaptive told a similar story:

> God teach black people to make country fashion. My father make country fashion I must make country fashion for my father teach me that fashion before I left to come to this country. Long time ago a white man tell me to go to Church. Me believe him, me go to Church to, me no do good. But when me turn back to country fashion me do good.[63]

Healing medicines had also been brought into the country by the recaptives. The Hunter and the Odelay Society have a tradition, dictated by one of the Yoruba diviners, that the recaptives carried medicines in their stomachs on the slave ships. The Odelay and Hunter Societies believe that the stomach is the most pure place to carry the medicine, and present day members claim to carry medicine there. They say that if a person within the society reveals the secrets of the society or steals another man's medicine then the medicine will swell in his stomach and cause him to die.[64]

The most common religious tradition in the colony was that of the Yoruba. After the Fulani conquests in the 1820s thousands of Yoruba were intercepted on their journey to the Americas.[65]

iv. The Influence of Yoruba Traditions on the Recaptives' Understanding of Christianity

The Fulani or Fulbe were a substantial minority people living in the Hausa kingdom. At the end of the eighteenth century, Fulani living in the towns had preached a *jihad*

against the leaders of the Hausa state. By 1810 they had conquered the Hausa and turned their attention to the kingdoms to their south. The disintegrating Empire of Oyo proved an easy target.[66] The old empire, which had been the most powerful in the area for almost a century, had witnessed a series of internal fights for independence. Ilorin was captured, after the governor of Ilorin had requested assistance from the Fulani against the Alafin of Oyo. It became the seat of the Fulani Emirate, pushing the Yoruba towards Ibadan and Abeokuta. The Fulani wars had increased the numbers of slaves available. They were sold through the ports of Lagos, Porto Novo and Badagri, areas where, at this period, the British had few factories and little control.

Large numbers of Yoruba fled south on the Fulani invasion pushing the Egba people, on whose land they settled, still further south. Civil war spread throughout Yorubaland. The Egba founded a new capital city at Abeokuta.

The intensification of the slave trade through the Fulani and the Yoruba wars came at a time when the Spanish and the Portuguese were anxious to obtain many new slaves for their new coffee and sugar plantations, and at a time when the British had gained knowledge and experience in the capturing of slave ships.[67] The Methodist Society report of 24 December 1842 stated that "the Aku are a very peaceable people. We have more of them in the society than any other tribe, 30 of them are leaders, 12 are exhorters, 2 are lay preachers."[68]

After the Yoruba influx into the Colony the old gods of the Yoruba played an important part in the villages. In 1847 the Acting Governor, Governor Pine, noted the many efforts made to worship the old gods:

> during thunder storms which at certain seasons disturb the tropical nights the stillness which prevails in the intervals between the peals of thunder is broken by the wild chants with which these people are accustomed to worshipping their gods.
>
> The followers of the superstition are mostly Aku. Not a few persons in the community and some of them professing Christianity believe that these thunder

> worshippers, and indeed the Akus generally, held some mysterious communion with the lightning by which they are enabled to direct its cause against the enemies.
>
> A belief in the powers of magic and witchcraft and in the efficacy of charms and philtres is prevalent among nearly all the pagan and Mohammedan people and is not wholly eradicated from the minds of a large number of the people who profess Christianity.[69]

The power battle between the idols and God was on the increase during the middle years of the century. The worship of Shango became a major topic in the missionary letters to London, (although this may be accounted for by a new interest in the "pagan religions" of Africa and a new wave of missionaries prepared to report on what they found both outside and within the church.)

Even communicant members were to be found out in the streets shouting praises to Shango during thunder storms. Crowther was angry and disappointed at the attachment many had to Shango. He wrote to the Secretary of the CMS bemoaning the fact that it was not possible to bring electricity to Freetown; for if it were and the people could be shown how the powers of nature could be harnessed, he believed they would cease to worship this being.[70]

What frustrated Crowther in his early days when he spoke to the worshippers of Shango and other gods, was their assurance that they worshipped the true God as well. It was not just a matter of one power posed against the other, though often the imagery of God battling against all the idols was used by the converted recaptives as well as the missionaries. Many Yoruba in particular were happy to recognise the power of both. A Yoruba answer to Crowther was that they could not resolve to give up the gods whom they believed were created by the Great God for the good of mankind. (Nothing would persuade them otherwise).

On days sacred to Shango worshippers would meet together in houses in the peninsula and drum and dance all night until the following morning. On one of these days, 23 February 1844, Crowther records going to a house in Circular Road and attempting

to speak to the worshippers. He was rebuffed by one man who pointed out that nominal Christians were "the greatest adulterers that could be met with in the colony and that he himself was formerly a member of the church but found no benefit from his connexion with the religion of the Bible."[71] Those gathered to worship Shango told Crowther that they had been born and protected by the gods so far and therefore it was their duty to worship them.

Initially, those who arrived in the Colony were destitute of all except their memories, and they looked to the Christian church for assistance and a base from which to move outwards. By the 1840s there was a sufficient network of different country people in the colony to whom new arrivals could go. The various groups of people had instituted in most cases their "country practices", and the gods, who once had been condemned as having failed to provide protection and security against the horrors of slave capture, were once again powerful.

Many of the gods and spirits, the orisas of Yoruba religion became important in Sierra Leone. Shango was but one; there was an active cult following the god Sopona and a gathering following Ogun. Ibeji, the god of twins, was a powerful god; James Johnson's parents, both members of the church, offered daily offerings to this orisa. It was the practice among the Yoruba to kill twins, but the Johnson's, aware that they could not do so in Sierra Leone, resorted to the Yoruba tradition of worship of Ibeji in order to ensure the safety of James and his sister, Eliza.[72] The missionaries rarely named the gods, dismissing them all as creations of Satan, but the recaptives knew of their power and many turned to them in times of difficulty. During the smallpox epidemics, the god of small pox, Sopona, was worshipped. Followers of this god shaved half of their head, and, adorned with cowries, white gowns and headbands decorated with red parrots feathers, they worshipped the god. Sopona was thought to be an orisa of vengeance who inflicted small pox on those he wished to punish. Those who died of small pox were buried by the priests of the Cult of Sopona, and these priests had the right to claim all the dead person's belongings.[73]

The belief in witches and witchcraft was dismissed by the missionaries as another trap of the devil to blind the eyes of those who would believe. The recaptives who had turned to Christ believed that Christ was more powerful than the witches and country doctors. One of his communicants told Bultmann that a witch had given him sickness but Christ would make him well if he pray to Christ.[74] Graf was faced with a similar power struggle and the belief that Christ could defeat the evil powers, when a villager carried in his child, which Graf noted had been "physicked to death" by country doctors, and asked Graf to pray for the child.[75]

Later in the century the Methodist purger, Benjamin Tregaskis, faced the problem of the intermingling of the various traditional religious beliefs and practices with those that were specifically Christian. In the WMMS Notices 1873-4 Tregaskis wrote:

> Discipline was exercised nearly ten years ago upon a few of our members who united themselves with this pagan custom, the Bondu rites of circumcision. ...they were superintended by an elderly person of the same sex, properly qualified in the mysteries of the art, and on the death of two of them which occurred shortly after their return from the Bondu bush the minister in charge of the circuit (York) very righteously refused to give them a Christian burial. A few friends of theirs who took umbrage at this withdrew themselves from the pale of our church, invited the CMS into their place, and joined them.[76]

The missionary J Waite had written to W B Boyce, secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, on the same issue in 1868:

> Bondo, witchcraft, (so called) and wakes (as great an abomination as the others) are to say the least of it, very prevalent.[77]

The Christian Church had no real policy towards the "abominations" other than a general disgust of them and a refusal to counter them within the church. The missionaries were unable to understand the significance of what they called "abominations".[78]

Those who refused to accept the pattern of Christianity that village life offered moved out of the villages established by the Government into small hamlets, often with those they had been on the slave ships with.

Johnson reported coming across a village on the hillside near Regent, populated by recaptives who had originally resided at Regent.[79] Another Missionary, William Betts, travelling in the same region found five separate villages all consisting of former village members, particularly members of Regent village.[80]

References to the tiny hamlets all over the peninsula often mention the noise of drumming and dancing echoing throughout the night. In these places the practice of the traditional religions continued. When Tamba was out on his journeys he noted in his journal that when he visited people the first question he would ask them was:

> What is the reason you come to sit down in the bush, and you left the town where you hear the Word of God, and learn to pray to Him to save your souls? What will you do when you die.[81]

William Davies, Tamba's companion in Regent, wrote that while he and Taylor were passing through the woods near Regent:

> We met with a town in the bush, occupied by Cossos, who had absconded from different villages. We called the Headman and spoke to him of eternal things which he did not want to hear. ...he knew not what to answer and was glad to call another man to his assistance: while we were speaking to this man the other managed to slip away. This Headman represented himself as having formerly lived with Mr Johnson, and he manifestly knew more than the others.[82]

Later the two men met some others in the same situation:

> in passing through the bush we came to a farm where resided a man and family of the Ebo Nation, who had wandered from Regent.[83]

Johnson wrote in his journal during a journey to the South of the Peninsula:

> Went, in the afternoon, to a few small hamlets in the neighbourhood of Kent. Found a man who had formerly lived at Regent's Town: being very superstitious, he had withdrawn to a place where he could live in the practice of his country fashion. I took one of his greegrees and cutting the leather open in which it was sewed, found that it was merely a piece of paper which had been wrapped around a cake of Windsor soap: the stamp of the manufacturer was on the paper with the inscription "Genuine Windsor Soap". I exposed this charm to my companions, and a hearty laugh ensued.[84]

5. The Religious Activity of the Recaptives: - the Manner in which they Understood and Interpreted their Religious Experiences

The missionaries were continually surprised by the Christian behaviour of the recaptives because it challenged the missionaries conventional understanding of the Christian faith. Missionary theology and practice indicted a pattern of activity that was seen as the right way to worship, to talk, to live, to behave, even down to the right way to organise one's house.

A number of years before the recaptives arrived in such great numbers into the Colony, the Methodist and Countess of Huntingdon Churches in Freetown were noted by Macaulay, and the chaplains, for their dependence on dreams, their rowdy church services, the lack of knowledge of their preachers and teachers, and equally the lack of knowledge of the converts whose only requirement was to have sought and found peace. Macaulay's complaint in 1796 that at Granville town "there are two meetings of the Methodists whose preachers sometimes seem to contend which shall bawl the louder",[85] parallels Graf's complaint 43 years later:

> I was raised out of bed by a clamour of a howling and groaning noise coming from the Methodist Chapel where the people were at morning prayers, that begin before daybreak. Here one of the most notorious characters of the village was just engaged in the act of what they call finding peace.[86]

Like the original Settler Christianity, Recaptive Christianity was characterised by the presence of dreams and visions as pointers and indications of the interaction of the spirit world with the physical world. Dreams acted, among other things, as pointers

to convert to Christ, to take membership of the church and as a calling into the ministry.

One woman came weeping to Johnson telling him that she had had a dream where a white man came to her, put her in some scales, but her weight was too great and she flew up to the beam. She understood the dream as God warning her that her sins were too great and that she would be judged for them accordingly.[87] Johnson was amazed and excited by the parallels between her dream and the story of King Belshazzer in the Old Testament book of Daniel. But he refused to accept that dreams were more important than the Scriptures and told his people at Regent to pray and not to dream.[88] Later Bultmann, faced with a similar situation of a number of his congregation coming to him with accounts of their dreams, began to recognise that the dreams were significant to them. Hannah Hero, who according to Bultmann, was in the habit of dreaming and repeating her dreams with singular liveliness, caused Bultmann to say;

> these may not always or altogether, (though for the most part decidedly), be delusions or something worse, but that perhaps in some instances a certain truth respecting eternal things is impressed on their minds which is, consequence of their scarcely imaginable ignorance and incompetence to read the only written revelation of God's will they might not otherwise be able to learn.[89]

The missionaries taught that the Bible was the central authority of the Christian faith. Dreams were a poor second best, yet recaptive after recaptive retold dreams seeing them as integral to their relationship with the Christian God.

In 1820 a Jolof man approached Wilhelm at Waterloo asking to be baptised. Wilhelm wrote:

> [He] long ago expressed a wish to be baptised: but seemed always to rely on a fine dream which he had dreamed; and on his own good resolution, no more to live in the same fashion as his country people - no more to join them in drinking and quarrelling; but to pray to God, and to mind that Book palaver which he hears of me.[90]

Twenty years later when a leprous man announced that he had been directed by God in a dream to apply for baptism, Bultmann was very reluctant to accept his dream as God's command. He carried out a long examination to find out the real state of the man's heart before he agreed to baptism.[91] Visions also played an important part in the recaptives' religious experience of the Divine. Graf, writing in 1850, noted on visiting an aged member of his church, that this old man had been taunted by friends about the absence of any supernatural visions or ecstatic feelings. These taunts had seared deep into the old man's heart and he anxiously sought reassurance from Graf that he was indeed one that "belonged to Christ".[92]

Many recaptives left the CMS churches to join the Methodists. Some gave their reasons for leaving, saying "in church people only received instruction whilst in the chapels they saw visions and felt strong shakings."[93] In one of his letters to the Secretary, Graf wrote of a meeting he had with a member of the CMS congregation at Hastings. This man, who had formerly been a member of the Methodist Church, had come to him in an excited state of mind about a vision from Heaven which he had had that very day. He explained the vision to Graf who noted it down:

> he had got up and performed private devotions, it was too early to go to church, he went back to bed, fell asleep, saw Heaven open and heard an agreeable noise, as it were, of singing of a multitude of people whom he, of course, took for angels.[94]

Fortunately, Graf said, it required not very much sagacity to find out the reason for this vision; it could simply be put down to the fact that the man imagined that he had already gone to the morning service.

Attara records how one of his members came to him with the announcement that he had had a dream in which he was instructed to leave Attara's church and join the Wesleyans. Attara wrote:

> All those old men who had died at Wellington, they appeared to him and told him to come and tell me that I should no longer remain a member of your church. And that the dead persons had strictly ordered him to tell me that if he should prove to disregard their words which they had sent him to tell me that he should afterwards repent bitterly for his disobedience.[95]

Attara was not convinced by the nature of the dream and answered the man telling him that the reason he desired to go to the Wesleyans was because he wanted to join a church where he could publicly offer up prayers and give glory and perform many other ceremonies. Attara, a recaptive himself, refused to accept the story of the dead appearing in a dream to the living.[96]

Dreams and visions played a significant role in the recaptives lives. Through dreams the people believed that they could receive guidance from God on the necessary actions they should take to secure good health and well being. Through visions the departed appeared and made their wishes known. As George Harding Decker lay on his deathbed, he told those around him that he saw the soldiers of Christ waiting for him, all those who had gone before, but, he said:

> I cannot, I must not grieve the congregation today, Sunday, I must remain here till tomorrow.[97]

Decker died the following day, keeping his old companions waiting, so that he would not disappoint his congregation. His Christian beliefs on the sanctity of Sunday over-riding the call from his friends.

i. The Place of Judgment in their Understanding of Christianity

When recaptives told their ministers what they understood about their beliefs, they tended to centre them on the actions of Jesus Christ, and the fact that they were guilty of sin. They believed that there would be a judgment after death for all those who did not repent of their sins in this life. William Tamba, the Native Assistant at Regent, told his people:

> Everyone of us is bad God say, fornicators, murderers, adulterers, liars and such as curse and work on the Lord's Day all shall go to Hell.
>
> If you do not look to God and pray to him, and believe in Him the word that I tell you today shall be witness against you in the Day of Judgment.
>
> God will ask you on the Day of judgment if you have not heard His words. O do countrymen, try to pray to God.[98]

Tamba centred much of his teaching to his fellow country men on the idea that if they did not respond they would be subjected to Hell fire. He wrote:

> I told them that if they died without the Lord Jesus Christ they must hear Him say I know you not, depart from me. God is a merciful God, if any man does bad and hear His word and leave off all the bad things which he has done and pray to Him for pardon of His sins and believe on Him he shall be saved.[99]

Weeks records in his journal for 1838 the case of one young lad from Gloucester, who had attended school there, coming to him with the request:

> I come to you Sir, because I feel the burden of my sins to be very great. I wish to go to Jesus Christ and I hope he will pardon all my sins. I do not know when death will come but I know that if I do not believe in Jesus Christ I shall die miserably, and be miserable for ever.[100]

Johnson records overhearing a young boy praying in the schoolhouse in Regent:

> O Lord Jesus Christ! we been so long on the road to Hell, and we no know. We been hear your good word so long, and we no been consider. O learn us how to follow you now - We live nigh Hell. O Lord Jesus save us! Take us away from Hell fire! We want you to do it now! this night! our sins too much! O Lord Jesus, save us![101]

Sermons were frequently preached on the horrors of Hell:

> Suppose you, and plenty people besides, were shut up in a large house, out of which it was impossible for any to escape and that house was set on fire, would it comfort you because plenty of people perish with you in devouring flames? So the Wicked in torment, all and every one of them when they shall see the end of their own folly, and shall be filled with the terror of the Almighty and complain with the rich man in the gospel, "I am tormented in this flame and shall say to one another", " Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire?"[102]

The continual mention of fire draws connections with the Yoruba cosmology. Idowu, in his work on *Oludumare, God in Yoruba Belief* notes the place of the deity Shango and his association with thunder, lightning and fire. He also points out:

> There has been an earlier Yoruba solar divinity to whom lightning and thunder have been attributed. His name is Jakuta, which means "One who fights with stones", or "One who hurls stones." ...Jakuta was the Yoruba way of conceptualising "The Wrath" of Oludumare against all forms of wickedness.[103]

The names given to Jakuta are - *On-ile ine*! [The Lord of the house of fire.] *Ina osan, Ina gun ori ile fe 'ju*!, [Noonday fire, fire that mounts the roof and becomes glaring flame!][104]

With such imagery already within the Yoruba religion it is not surprising that the Christian teaching on Hell should have been accepted so readily and should have made such an impact on many of the recaptives. Their prayers and conversation were frequently taken up with the fear of punishment and hellfire. At the second anniversary of the Sierra Leone Missionary Association held on the 25 February 1820, many of the recaptives spoke; the central tenet of their message being the fear of Judgment. One man appealed to his brethren:

> O pray continually for ourselves and our country-people. Suppose we meet in the Day of Judgment and they stand on the left hand, and they say - You been see me go to hell and have not told me about it.[105]

Missionary report after report made note of the recaptives own desire to escape from Hell. One recaptive in the village of Regent told Johnson:

> Suppose me go to Hell, me soon die there - big fire soon kill me, then me no feel. But God says no die in Hell. Suppose you put a stone in fire, he can't be burnt. No fire can burn him - he always live there! God says the wicked have hearts of stone and no fire can melt them.[106]

ii. The Role of Jesus Christ in their Experiences

The importance of their experience was that it was God who called them, and it was God who saved them, it was not anything that they could do. Most of the recaptives spoke of their conversion experiences in terms of God making them come to him, or God troubling their hearts, or God calling them. A communicant from Regent wrote to the Secretaries expressing his gratitude to the missionaries of the CMS:

> The Lord has done great things for me. He brought me out of my Country to hear his Word. Oh, I can say, I thank God, that Jesus Christ came into the world to die for poor guilty sinners. I must have gone down to hell; but now I look to the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour for salvation, and that by the teaching of the Holy Ghost.[107]

One recaptive told Beckley that:

> First time I live in this town I serve Devil for time, I been propray [prepared?] for ever devil work, but I thank Lord Jesus Christ for his mercies that time he make me to hear his word and call on his name.[108]

Their security lay in this belief that Jesus Christ shed his blood to save sinners and this was more powerful than any other power. One recaptive at Regent said:

> Massa, I can't get rest at all; my wicked heart trouble me.
>
> No one can do me good except the Lord Jesus Christ. He only can do me good,
>
> Johnson said: If you are persuaded of that, then go to Him. He says that, none coming unto me will I cast out.
>
> I cannot go to him by my own strength Massa.
>
> Do you ever pray to Him?
>
> Yes I pray but I can't tell if God hear my prayer. Sometimes when I pray I feel glad, but sometimes when I pray my heart run all about and then I feel no peace.
>
> What makes you feel glad sometimes?
>
> Because Jesus Christ been hang on a cross for poor sinners. He shed his blood to save sinners.[109]

In an interesting perception on the power of Christ's blood to save one lady announced to Johnson:

> Massa, them words you talk last Sunday morning sweet too sweet to my heart. That time me no come to church, me so much trouble. My heart full up with sin.... Bye and bye you talk about the Lord Jesus Christ, him the doctor for heart sick people. Oh them words make me glad. You talk plenty about the medicine he give and that he take no money, he give it freely. Thank God the Lord Jesus Christ take his own blood for medicine and take all my sins away.[110]

She was comparing the salvation that Christ offered to that offered by the traditional healers.

6. The Recaptives' Interpretation of their Conversion - The Place of the "Heart"

As has been noted, the evangelical theology that had swept Britain and parts of America in the 18th and 19th century had stressed the need for the conviction of sin as a direct step toward conversion to Christ. Without conviction of the wrong that a person had committed, he or she could never be made aware of the holiness of God and the need to repent. In Britain and America this conviction came upon the person by an act of the Holy Spirit, calling the person to see the wrong doing of their ways, it sometimes lasted months before the person was brought out of this state into the realm of the redeemed. In Sierra Leone the recaptives expressed this conviction with the words that their hearts were troubling them. The fear that such a theology instilled into the recaptives, and their response to it, were connected in the recaptives' minds with their heart. Their heart was troubled by the knowledge of the situation, and their heart found peace when Christ came to live in it. In order to understand the degree to which Christianity had an impact it is necessary to examine the place and the role of the heart - both in missionary thinking and in the thinking of the recaptives.

Sam Polite, a praise house elder among the Gullah people from south Carolina, had said:

> God done gib de white folks a heap of things, but he ain't forgotten us 'cause He gib us religion and we have a right t show it out to all the world. De Buckra [white people] deys got de knowing of the why and hows of religion, but dey ain't never got de feel of it yet. I think God ain't have much respect for no kind of religion without de feeling. De book say, They that worship me must worship me in spirit and in truth. There might be some truth in deys all religion, but their ain't much spirit in a religion that is all in de head.[111]

The religion of the head faced the religion of the heart and Evangelical Christianity championed the cause of the religion of the heart. Evangelical Christianity was expressive, emotional, and depended far more on experience than on theological learning and thus suited all those whose opportunities to learn to read and write had been restricted. It was the "feel" of religion that was so important, that divided those who theoretically understood the process of the religious tradition from those who underwent dramatic conversion experiences and daily lived their lives with the belief that God was on their side, fighting their battles against the Devil, evil spirits and witches. The extent of this thinking can be understood from William Davies's comment. Davies, one of the native assistants at Regent, came to Johnson telling him that his greatest worry was that what he knew was not from heart felt experience. Instead he feared that he had learned all by hearing and not by the Holy Ghost, and this was enough to prevent him from being a true Christian.[112]

The length of time that their hearts were troubled differed from recaptive to recaptive. One woman said to Attara that her heart had troubled her for four months, another's heart had been troubled for longer. During the time of troubling missionaries recorded hearing the recaptives crying for mercy. These cries would interrupt the prayer meetings and the church services. In Regent Johnson, in agony to know what to do when almost all his congregation appeared to be crying for mercy, finally employed doorkeepers to remove all those who spoke through the service. Johnson noted in his journal of coming across a lady in the church service who was weeping bitterly. What surprised him was that she understood so very little English and therefore could not follow his sermons. When he contrived to make her understand that he wished to know the reason why she wept, the woman pointed to her heart and said, "Here, here."[113]

The heart was the centre of the feelings, the source of emotion - it was the heart which kept all the rest of life together. A religion which demanded that one's heart was given to God to be His home, meant a religion of intensity. The recaptives saw their hearts as the cause of this, and if their hearts were not made pure and right with God the consequences were unbearable. One lady said to Johnson when he approached her about being a sinner:

> my heart follows me always. Me can't do good. Me heart so bad will not let me. Me want to serve Lord Jesus Christ but me no sabby how to serve him, me fraid to much. Suppose me die me go to fire, me been bad too much.[114]

The missionaries were often faced with the comments about sin living in the hearts of their people: "Massa, sin live too deep in my heart and when me hear people say that their hearts good, me fear, but something tell me that they no sabby."[115] The report that Thomas Morgan presented to the Committee on his return from Sierra Leone in 1821 quoted one of the communicants' response to sin:

> We have done something very bad - God is angry with us. He is removing all our teachers - We must look into our hearts, some bad live there.[116]

Not only God, but the words about God were seen to live in the recaptives' hearts:

> when I go home all live in my heart and when I sleep I think all night I hear you preach them words. You talk about God's people stand before they die and how they stand before God through the Lord Jesus Christ and how glad they will be in the day of judgement, these words come to my heart and make me so glad.[117]

The idea of the Deity living in the heart was not new to the Yoruba, to which people these two men belonged. What lived in the heart had the control of not only the body but the conscience and the actions of a person.

If God or the Word did not live in a person's heart then they did not believe they were converted to God. There was a continual fear among the recaptives that God

would cease to live in their hearts or that he would leave their hearts because of their sins. One man approached Johnson telling him, "Massa, me fear that the grace of God no live in my heart. Suppose me have grace in heart, I think me can't have all that trouble."[118]

When the recaptives were convinced that Christ was in their hearts, their whole demeanour changed, the belief that they had a new protection against evil was of central importance in their lives. One man told During:

> Christ he came, he give light to the African, he came into my heart. I feel 'em. I trust em. I trust Jesus.[119]

Conversion was seen as the result of Christ coming into their hearts. When God lived there then they had peace.

In 1833 Weeks arrived in the Mountain district and his journal records the numbers who came to him asking for help with their sins. Using expressions like; "my sins plague me so much that I cannot sit down quietly in the house"; "I come to you to help me that the Lord may save my soul"; "I greatly fear death and my heart is full of trouble." One recaptive told Weeks: "I have been considering all about my company, how they are trying to serve God and me one left behind, this troubles me. At last I said in my heart, 'Well, I will go to the missionary, and tell him I want to beg our Heavenly father to help me too.'"[120] In Regent, Gloucester, York, and Wilberforce, the same expressions were used. Freetown abounded with those complaining that their hearts were hard and they did not know what to do, their sins were too much.

A recaptive said to Johnson:

> suppose me pray, me heart run to my country to Sierra Leone, all about; sometimes them things me no want to remember come into my heart, and then me can't say any more, but Jesus Christ have mercy on me, poor thing.[121]

Another lady told of a similar problem -

> Suppose I pray - my heart run away from me and get up from my knee. I don't know what I been say. Oh my bad heart! bad, past everything.[122]

The movement ascribed to the heart was commonly referred to as running. As one woman told Johnson: "Me no run like Jonah but my heart run more like Jonah".[123]

Regardless of people's intentions, it was ultimately the responsibility of their hearts to respond to God and if their hearts did not then they were trapped. A communicant, feeling miserable in her sin told During:

> That same thing you tell me, If you take and eat the Lord's supper you eat and drink your own damnation. But me must come. Suppose me no come what me poor sinner can do! Me come, me kneel down - my heart sink, me pray, Lord Jesus have mercy on me and save me or else I perish! My heart get up again me begin to feel glad.[124]

As a lady told Johnson, "That time I want to love him my heart no willing, it always run about, that trouble me too much".[125] A recaptive could argue with their heart to try and persuade it of right or wrong. An example of this occurs in Johnson's journal. Johnson had preached a sermon on the ten commandments and one of his congregation came to him and said:

> I talk in my heart and my heart begin to beat. Me want to cry, me heart have so much me don't know what to do. Massa my heart think I kill ten people before breakfast. I never think I so bad. Afterwards you talk to me about the Lord Jesus How he take all our sin. I think I stand like a person that has a big stone on his head, and can't walk - want to fall down. O Massa I have trouble too much, I no sleep all night. I hope the Lord Jesus will take my sins from me. Suppose He no save me I go to Hell forever.[126]

This woman's conception of the heart was that it was the cause of all trouble, the source of all feelings and the controller of all actions. The heart contained the sin of the body. When their hearts were troubling them they would often comment, "My

heart talk to me, that true me no fit to sit here and hear the word of the Lord Jesus Christ, because my sins pass all other people".[127]

When Johnson questioned some of the women candidates for baptism he was told by them frequently that their hearts were full of sin. As one lady said, "Suppose some one look into my heart he can say, that woman bad for true, O my sin pass me." Or another, "O my heart fill up with sin, the more I pray the more sin I feel and much worse I stand".[128] Another man that During encountered experienced similar regret because of the state of his heart. During wrote:

> One man who had lately came and settled in the town appeared much affected. He fell on his knees and wept aloud. After service I asked him why he wept. He said that God came into his heart and his heart bad too much, that made him cry.[129]

Mary Refal, a recaptive at Leicester found that she did not know whether she was a Christian or not because of her heart:

> When I think how my heart stand this time I cannot say that I am a Christian, when I go to Church my heart trouble me with all sorts of foolishness, when I hear God's words preached I feel glad. When I come home I read what master preach about I feel glad but all this soon go away from me again. People call me a Christian but a Christian heart cannot stand in this fashion.[130]

Johnson encountered a steady stream of recaptives all with the same complaint, "Massa, I come to talk to you about God palaver. My heart trouble me too much."[131] Another came to Johnson telling him, "O Massa, my heart trouble me too much, my heart very bad."[132]

It was the heart that controlled the rest of a person's actions and affected whether or not they would do good or bad. A communicant told Johnson:

> I went to Freetown some time ago and met some of my country people who live there. I eat with them and they talk foolish and I did not tell them they do bad. I stand like one of them. My heart tell me the same that time but

> I no mind that. Then them people do very bad, they curse, they swear, they drink all night.
>
> Next day I go home and oh how my heart strike me when I go home. I get sick. God punish me for that and since that time I been sick. My belly always hurt me and sometimes me get fever. Sometimes I only strong enough to go to the church: but I get no peace in my heart. When I hear the word of God all is against me.[133]

Johnson was approached by another lady who claimed that were it not for the Lord Jesus Christ helping her, her life would be so much worse:

> My heart full up with sin: more I pray, more sin I feel, and more worse I stand: my heart plague me too much. I think I cannot be saved; because I think nobody bad the same as me. Suppose somebody can look in my heart, he can say, "That woman bad" for true.[134]

Another lady came to During after the morning service:

> In the morning Church all my heart laugh. That same time we kneel down to Sacrament my heart say, From the top of my head to the bottom of my feet there is nothing but sin, all sin. But Massa that same time me remember, Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world; and when you read God so loved the world &c. O Massa, my heart want to break - water run from my eyes. O Massa, me don't know what to do.[135]

The heart not only challenged a person when they did wrong, it also could encourage them to do wrong. One came to During in despair claiming that:

> Massa my eyes look sin - and the things of this world my heart like it: my hand do bad - my heart like it: my foot willing to walk the broad road to Hell - my heart like it.[136]

God came to live in the converts heart, or so the convert believed. One of During's communicants told him, "Christ, he come, he give for Africans light. He come into my heart. I feel 'em. I trust Jesus, I think he can save me to Heaven". Another recaptive prayed to God during the morning prayer times, "Lord Jesus, What can me do, come live in my heart."[137]

While missionaries exhorted people to give their hearts to Christ, they did not preach that the people had two hearts, a good and a bad heart. But missionary accounts of the recaptives telling them of their two hearts are common.

> They will tell us with the greatest simplicity that they have two hearts within them - a good heart, and a bad heart: nor can we convince them to the contrary. They will also tell us that these two hearts have a "long palaver" with each other and how much bad heart strives to hurt good heart.[138]

David Morgan, colonial chaplain between the years 1830 and 1841, reports how, when addressing a man on the sins he had supposedly committed, the man responded with:

> Massa, I got two hearts, - one heart, new heart now, tell me of all the bad things that we have been doing in my country and since me been here same heart say I must pray to God to forgive me these bad things but the other heart tell me never mind, God no look you. God look white people, he no look black people, he no look you.
>
> But my new heart tell me, suppose you no pray, you die, you go to hell and then I want to go to pray, then old heart tell me - you go to work first, make fire, cook rice and then when I done work I forget to pray and so these two hearts trouble me to much and I don't know what I want to do.[139]

The responsibility for sin was passed on to the bad heart. Good actions came about because the heart told the person or made the person do something, and likewise bad actions. One of the recaptives told the missionary Robert Beckley:

> this morning when the bell rang the devil tell me, "you are sick lay down again." The other heart tell me, no let the devil heart make you a fool, then I got up and come to Church and have occasion to bless God for it.[140]

Another recaptive facing similar problems told the missionaries, "I go to the bottom of the hill. One heart say, 'Go hear what white man say'. My heart say again, 'what for you know want to hear'. So I go back. Sunday come again. One heart say, 'Come, get up': so I take my clothes - jacket, trowsers, and shirt - and want to go away before bell knock. The other heart say, 'Go back - go hear God's word, - no more, this once.'"[141] In another case a convert toiled over temptation - "My wicked

heart fight against me, but God show me no good. My good heart tell me no water, no rice in hell"[142]

There were varying views as to where the two hearts emerged from. Some said that a person was born with these two hearts, one given him by God and one given him by the devil. Others of the recaptives tended to use the expression of two hearts as an analogy. One communicant expressed his continuing sinfulness in these terms:

> I no sabby how I stand this time. I fear too much I think I no live in the right way. I no sabby what to do. My heart plague me too much. My heart stand the same like two persons, one do bad and the other do good, one like to pray and the other no like to pray.[143]

Another common expression concerning the heart was the description of the heart as "stone". It implied death and destruction. One communicant came to Christopher Taylor at Charlotte and said:

> O Lord, our hearts one time sand all the same like stone: he no fear nothing: but, O Lord, make us fear more and more to sin against thee! - Our hearts strong too much; O Lord, make them soft!
>
> All the things which I do and live in my heart, you talk of in the Church. I am afraid I shall be lost - my heart no stand good at all. The more I try to pray the more cold I feel. I go on my knee but cannot pray, my heart is like stone, I have no peace at all. I get sick plenty time and think I shall even die and what shall become of me. I shall surely sink into hell.[144]

Following on from the idea of hearts being like stone many of the recaptives complained that their hearts were cold. Johnson used this expression in his sermons; one recaptives said, "Last Sunday you say people reject pray and now them feel cold in their hearts. Sometimes I kneel down to pray and then my heart so cold and then somebody come and disturb me".[145] Another said "Me so wicked, God love me so much and still my heart so cold".[146] One man, talking of hearing the words of God, "First time I feel glad too much, but this time me feel the cold - me no feel good at all, me more worse every day. My heart so bad, trouble me too much."[147]

Sometimes the recaptives complained of feeling cold when they approached the Lord's Table. While the imagery is Biblical and would have been used by Johnson in his preaching to emphasise the state of a person who was far away from God, its use, and the context in which it was used by the recaptives seems to indicate more than simply a repetition of religious language. It was their way of saying that they believed their hearts were not right with God. [There are many references to hot and cold in traditional tales and morals. During the funeral rituals and grave-side libations water was often poured out and the reason given was that water cooled the hearts of the dead]. During cites one such incident.[148]

It is important to appreciate the manner in which Christianity was interpreted and the reasons why some images and ideas were more influential than others. The imagery of the heart was the most significant of images, for the heart was the linchpin in the relationship between a person and the world of the spirits. It was through the heart that the spiritual world was contacted.

The evangelical tradition with its strong emphasis on the place of the heart and its response to faith, struck chords with the recaptives. It has been assumed that the frequent mention of the heart - the heart troubled, the heart seeking, the good heart, the bad heart - reflected the particular evangelical Christianity of the missionaries. While this is indisputably true, it is not the exclusive reason for the frequency in use of the particular imagery of the heart.

Evangelicals had used the imagery of the heart, found in both the Old and New Testament writings. By leaning heavily on the great poetical tradition of love and its tradition of the heart as the seat of all the emotions they were able to re-express Biblical ideas in passionate language. The analogy of Jesus being the lover was developed as it provided a fitting image within the pietistic and evangelical tradition of Christ's love for his fallen creatures. As love came from the heart, it was the heart that occupied the central position in a sinner's relationship with Christ. In a hymn

in the first edition of Wesley's hymnbook, entitled "For the Anniversary Day of One's Conversion" the stanza occurs,

> Then with my heart I first believed,
> Believed with faith divine,
> power with the Holy Ghost received
> To call the Saviour mine.[149]

Numerous hymns followed in the same vein. e.g.:

> O for a Heart to praise my God,
> A heart from sin set free,
> A heart that always feels thy blood,
> So freely spilt for me.[150]

The imagery of the heart was not new to the recaptives. In proverbs and stories the heart is recognised as being the centre of life. Almost all the West African ethnic groups have some story or concept regarding the heart. Garnon, the CMS missionary, noted that to "tell a Bullom Man that he has a bad heart, is to give him the greatest possible affront".[151]

Schwab, carrying out field work in the Liberian hinterland, in the early years of the 1940s, made some deductions, which, while over forty years old, still act as a pointer towards the belief system held by the Mano. He insisted that the Mano people thought that a person has a number of invisible attributes which leave the body at death one of them being the *zo* - heart or conscience. *Zo* has a number of meanings for the Mano - as well as heart it is the word used for a medicine man, a priest in Poro and the leader of the Sande cult. The Gio people use the same word for heart, Schwab has pointed out that when a person has died the Gio say "*a Zo a bwi*" - his heart lie down.[152] The Gbunde and Loma of Liberia announced to those carrying out fieldwork that "A pusson get two hearts. De wan be goo, de wan be ba, all two te w'at t'ing you fit to do".

M J Field, an anthropologist working among the Ga, wrote that they assign to each individual two indwelling spirits called *kla*, one male and one female, the former bad and the latter good. Each *kla* gives good or bad advice and prompt good or bad action according to their disposition.[153]

According to Fortes in his study of the Tallensi of North Ghana, the heart, *suh* or *sensah,* is believed to be the seat of fortitude and courage and their opposites - fear and cowardice as well as of a wide range of emotional states and dispositions such as mercy and anger.[154]

Most significant for this study is the work by Margaret Creel on the Gullah people of South Carolina. Creel notes that the Gullah believed their actions are directed by the voice of the heart which encouraged good behaviour and discouraged bad. Each person possessed two hearts, a good and a bad heart which battled against each other for control.[155] An interesting connection between the Gullah people and the people of Sierra Leone has been drawn by a number of scholars. The Gullah were originally slaves captured on the Windward Coast and shipped to the rice plantations of South Carolina and Georgia. In an early study of their language Lorenzo Turner noted the large number of words borrowed from African languages. Paul Hair developed the study to reveal that the majority of African words came from Sierra Leone and Liberia. Joseph Opala has analysed in much greater depth the degree of overlap between the two cultures showing that it is not only in language but in tradition and custom that there are similarities. The Gullah's freedom to develop their Christianity almost untouched by missionary participation has resulted in an enthusiastic expression characterised by shouts and ring dances, and by a belief that in the "travel of the soul" [a misrepresentation of the Old Testament verse, "He shall see the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied"], one could come to Christ.[156]

The place and position of the heart in recaptive Christianity is significant. The recaptives interpreted what they heard from the missionaries, and from the Nova Scotians, and were able, by using imagery from their traditional religions, to translate

Christian teaching into their lives. Their translation was meaningful and appropriate, it captured the essence of their beliefs and expressed the principles of conversion within a familiar religious framework. Nineteenth century Evangelical Christianity provided a vehicle for the message of Christ to enter the recaptives worldview, and the parallel imagery of the place of the heart enabled the recaptives to make an appropriate response.

7. The Form of Recaptive Christianity at Death

> Europeans maintain their traditional rites, when circumstances demand. The black man offers sacrifices.[157]

i. The Place of the Living Dead

At death the fears of the community were exposed and the strength of the belief system was put to the test; for the care of the dead, and the burial had not only implications for the dead person, but also for those who were left. The "Living Dead" had the potential to be both helpful and destructive, with the power to gift or to destroy depending on the actions and responses of the community. It was here within this acute sense of the reality of the afterlife, and the notion of the Living Dead, that the recaptives and the missionaries once again found themselves at odds.

> The living never forget that they are trustees of the dead. The continuity of customs must be faithfully preserved. A custom, rite or ceremony is a link with the dead who initiated it quite as much as it is the right of the God who receives it. The dead are always watching to see that the living preserve what their forefathers established. And since the dead have the power to bestow either blessings or adversity... the welfare of the living is felt to be bound up with the faithful performance of ancient custom.[158]

Field's comments on the attitude of the Ga to their ancestors and to death, were reflected in Sierra Leone among the recaptive peoples. Their comments to missionaries, and the action they took after a death occurred indicate this acute sense

that the full force of religion is made manifest. At the death and burial of someone the spirit world and the physical world united together and a release of power was believed to take place. The significance of the death rituals among the recaptive Christians are a direct pointer to the manner in which Christianity expressed itself Sierra Leone. Belief in the living dead was not something that could be dismissed when the recaptives converted. It was an inherent part of their worldview.

The living dead were seen as the spiritual superintendents of family affairs watching over the life and activity of their offspring. Missionary Christianity attempted to turn this belief into a Christian one.

The living dead were therefore transposed into "the communion of the saints"; any hint that the "saints" could or were taking an active part in the life of the recaptives was abhorred by the missionaries. As a means of paying respect to those who had gone before, the tradition of visiting the family graves in November began. On the special Christian celebrations at Christmas and Easter men and women would gather around the grave of their relations and offer libations of water for the purpose of "cooling the hearts of the dead."[159]

Graf recorded an unusual demonstration of the theology of the afterlife:

> of late our Wesleyan friends have made a novel stir in establishing rather noisy and showy band meetings - some of them joined some members of Lady Huntingdon's connexion today, a proceeding more novel still. It being perfectly dark they walked out in procession at the sound of a merry chant to the burial ground where each took possession of a tomb and there prayed, saw visions, either collectively or separately, until their imagination was either heated to fear or alarm or calmed by the dead silence of dead men's bones.[160]

The following Sunday the Wesleyan minister publicly denounced the action in Freetown, but Graf noted, "not many years ago such proceedings were of no uncommon practice among them".

The graveyard was a special and holy place, for it was there the living dead dwelt. Betts noted how his people marched to the graveyard singing one evening in order to clean the graves; each member took a particular stone and sang upon it. Later in the century, during the Centenary Celebrations of Sierra Leone, graveyards were cleaned in order to enable the dead to join in the celebrations. For the early recaptives the major issue was what to do when a relation died. Old customs stated one thing, Christianity demanded another. At death, the spiritual world became part of the present world in a real and tangible way. The corpse, though still physically present among the people, did not belong to the present world any longer. It was the property of the other world. The manner of treating the corpse therefore had not only repercussions for the dead person in this other world but also for people living in this world too.

ii. The Rituals for the Dead

The practice of wake keeping remained a priority. Schön, describing a funeral in Gloucester village in 1846, said that it produced the most shocking scenes, of revelling and drunkenness and went on not only for that night but for a whole week:

> and the most distressing thing to my mind is their giving these occasions a religious appearance by singing and praying at intervals.[161]

Graf was offended by such activity and wrote:

> Another practice which they have contended is the assembling in great numbers to keep wake over the dead body of a friend. The custom sprang from the Christian practice of a few meeting together to sing hymns for the consolation of the survivors. But though the ceremony begins with hymns it usually degenerates into a drinking party and revelry.[162]

While Graf misunderstood its origin, he did at least recognise its importance and sought to rectify the situation as he saw it by introducing a Christian Burial Company. Betts had been the first CMS missionary to form such a society, which like all societies

among the recaptives, became extremely popular. Betts explained its presence to the CMS:

> It arose from the following circumstances. One or two of instances of gross intoxication having occurred among the persons who had met together to feast after the funeral, and it having come to my notice that Members of the Church do attend at such feasts, which are very common. I spoke very strongly against the practice, and threatened to suspend any communicants who goes to such parties. They then agreed "to make Company", as the current expression is, among themselves, to subscribe and assist each other, in the event of death occurring among them, but to have no feasting whatever, and to separate from all other companies. I formed a kind of Benefit Club among the Communicants for the purpose of funeral arrangements.[163]

When Graf went to Waterloo he found himself addressing an assembly of a "pretended religious sect or connexion who had met together for the purpose of praying and singing for the departed soul of a child who had died a few days before."[164] Graf found such actions reprehensible but for the recaptives this was the heart of their religion. Christianity had to be able to answer the questions that they asked and offer a means to cope with their emotions in times of great stress. The wakes provided the recaptives with the opportunity to send the dead off with music and singing, the difference being that it was Christian music and hymns. Singing was believed to encourage the dead on their way and to scare off any evil spirits that were lurking around.

The practice of keeping wakes continued throughout the century, and became an important part of the grieving process of the recaptives. Charles Marke, the Methodist minister, reported back for the Wesleyan correspondence in 1870:

> the practice of wakekeeping, particularly by the relatives of the deceased was an integral part of their belief system. Any departure from the practice of remaining in the house of the Deceased relative for two weeks was considered as an absence of love for the deceased.
>
> Integral too, was the practice of providing food for the dead in yards, streets, and on the tombs of relatives and friends in order to feed them.[165]

Another missionary complained of similar activity:

> the practice against which they have contended in assembling of great numbers to keep a wake over the dead body of a friend. The custom sprang up from the Christian practice of a few meeting together to sing hymns for the consolation of the survivors. But though the ceremony begins with hymns, it gradually degenerates into a drinking party and revelry.[166]

Trotter, the Countess of Huntingdon representative, noted in his journal the pattern that his villagers maintained during a funeral. After the celebrations he wrote:

> when a member is to be buried the corpse is brought in to the chapel, the coffin lid is removed, the face of the deceased is exposed to all until the service is read then friends have a last look and the lid is closed forever.[167]

The actual interment of the dead was a significant part of the whole ritual; and there were often struggles over who had the right to the body of the dead. The general system that appeared to work in the Colony was that whichever society the deceased had been most prominent in, had the right of burial (where the person was a member of two or more societies.)

When a person was a member of both the church and another society, the church usually got precedence for membership of the church was regarded as more important than membership of other societies. The country people of a deceased recaptive would often claim the corpse and the right to bury it in the manner they believed was required by their traditions. When the missionaries were faced with this request they often refused it, aware that the manner of burial would not be Christian. Jenny Thompson was buried with the aid of the Church Relief Company despite the requests of her shipmates for her remains.[168]

The effect of offending the dead was a real threat that had harmful repercussions on not only immediate family but potentially the community and the children and children's children.

The fear that the dead one would be lost or given up to evil spirits was re-emphasised by the Christian doctrine of the afterlife in heaven or hell. The fear of hell, described in pictures of terrifying detail, seems to have become the reason given by many of the recaptives as to why they converted. The Church offered a Christian burial with its assurance that the dead would reach heaven if they were Christians on earth. The many descriptions of hellfire and the continued repetition of the fact that if the recaptives were bad they would go to hell when they died, meant that those of the recaptives who did die without being baptised, or those who had been Christians but were excommunicated and died, were seen as going to hellfire. Only the propitiation of the ancestors and the spirits could rescue them. Even those who rejected many of the church doctrines were frightened of the afterlife. Praying to the dead, as well as praying for them, was common among the recaptives in an attempt to ensure the safe arrival in heaven of those who had died. The fear that a dead person who went to hell would come back and punish those of his people who had not performed the proper duties for him was also a reason for the frequency of these prayers.

The Christian doctrine of hell and the resurrection of the dead paralleled the traditional Yoruba belief in the Egungun Society. Many church members were also members of this society and almost all feared and respected it, fearing its power. It was a society of the Yoruba centred on the belief in the resurrection of the dead ancestors.[169] The Egun was believed to be an inhabitant of an invisible world, the spirit of a dead man who had once made his appearance on earth as a heavenly messenger. The Egun carried with him a charm that could hurt all who did not believe in the Egun. The Egun spirit danced and performed various magic tricks before his audience and spoke his commands in a strange deep hoarse voice. This unusual and unnatural voice was said to be in imitation of monkeys called "*Ijmere*", an animal regarded as a totem by some of the Yoruba. There were various records in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* of Egun dancers emerging at Christian weddings, and the majority of the funeral societies in the villages had connections with the Egungun Society.

Traditionally the Yoruba dead were buried not in cemeteries but in the houses of the next of kin. The Egungun dancers came to these houses, on the 13th and 17th day after the corpse had been interred. The Egungun devil of the deceased appeared in Egun dress and visited the former home of the deceased, where it embraced each of the children giving them a blessing. After receiving gifts of string cowries it would go back to the Alagba or high priest of the Egungun's house. Between the burial and the Egungun's appearance there was a lot of feasting and drinking.

The presence of the Egungun Society became more and more prominent towards the end of the 19th century (it is one of the leading societies in Freetown today). During the Centenary celebrations in 1889 two Egungun devils joined the Church festivals along with six indigenous Sherbro devils.[170] There was a substantial Egungun society with its centre in Hastings, one of the villages where the disbanded soldiers had been stationed. Graf met with the Egungun Society in a dramatic incident. He attempted to flog the leading Egungun dancer with the broom he was carrying but as he tried he found himself flogging empty clothes. He turned to leave and all the way home the broom followed him, gyrating on its own.[171]

It was at death that the power of Christianity and the power of traditional religions met. In the funeral rites, the sacrificing and praying for the dead, the pouring of libations and the hymn singing of the wake, both traditions held their place together in the minds of many of the recaptives. The *awujoh* was the feast held on special occasions, particularly births and marriages, and on anniversaries of the dead such as the "three day", the "seven day" and the "forty day". It acknowledges the sanctity of the living dead. Introduced by the original settlers from Nova Scotia, perhaps a fall back to their days on the plantations when night time feasts occurred, the celebration continues combining the spirit and the physical world.

In a recent article on the manner in which Krio people cope with the experience of bereavement, A Cohen wrote on the "Creole Way of Death". The question he posed as his thesis contention was: "Why amidst increasing education, modernisation,

individualism and rationalism, should there be this intensification, collectivisation and mounting expense of the ceremonials for the dead?"[172] Even though the question was addressed to present day society, its answer can be found in the adaption of Christianity by the recaptives in their attempts to cope with how to respond to the "Living Dead" in a new land.

8. Summary

The recaptives, pulled away from all that they were familiar with and thrown into a strange environment, with peoples of strange tongues and different value systems, adapted to a new country and a new religion in a manner that reflected a resilience of spirit and a keen desire to live and make better. They appeared to accept the new religion wholeheartedly, as missionary accounts of the villages, particularly Regent, illustrated. They attended the schools, became members of the churches, they dressed, and kept their houses and gardens in a tidy "civilised way", as Christians should. The question remains, however, why, and how, did they convert to Christianity?

Numerous reasons have been put forward - the result of disorientation, the dislocation of family and age set, the change in social environment, the trauma of near starvation, the extension of the recaptives' boundaries, the result of mixing with the missionaries and adopting missionary culture - all these reasons and more can be proffered to explain their conversion. Many of them are significant and help to build us to build up a picture of the early recaptives and their particular situation.

The recaptives arrived in Sierra Leone stripped of their identity. They were cultural orphans. Two patterns of living presented themselves and the recaptives adopted, and adapted both. They saw the Nova Scotians claiming the elitist position in a society that they were about to join, and they witnessed the Europeans, particularly during the early years, acting as schoolmasters, pastors, lawyers, village superintendents and government officials. John Peterson described the situation:

> Basically tribal Africans when first landed and freed at Freetown, the liberated African group changed in the short span of two generations and became one of the earliest acculturated Afro-European peoples in West Africa. Such rapid change was facilitated by the fact that those freed at Freetown became active agents themselves in the process of change. The liberated Africans did not passively receive Western culture from the silver platter that was 19th century British Victorian Society. They did not assimilate the alien culture, they developed, in the process of interaction of differing cultures, something that was new.[173]

Their social development is reflected in their religious development. It is clear that the recaptives placed the Christian God in the context of their lives, both past and present. The God of the whiteman was also the God who had always been looking after them and had brought them to Sierra Leone, and incidently the God who made their money grow! They interpreted the place of their greegrees in the light of their past use of the greegree and that of Christian morality. It became wrong to use a greegree to spoil the head of another but still right to use a greegree to aid and assist in times of sickness and misfortune. Christian rituals gave new meaning to the rituals of their tradition and custom, and they both continued to give support and comfort in time of need, whether it be joyous or sad.

Theirs was not a process of bland syncretisation where Christianity was amalgamated with traditional religion and the only change was an external one concerned with rites and rituals, nor was it a process of proselytisation where they accepted full-scale not only the missionaries' European Christianity but its social and cultural niceties. Paul Hair has written:

> Because Freetown Christianity is related, on the one side to a thousand and more years of Christianity in other continents, and on the other side to African traditions in religion, this does not mean that it ought to be treated as a false descendant of either or both. It deserves to be treated by historians of religion as a legitimate expression of Christianity and by Africanists as a legitimate African religion.[174]

The recaptives converted to Christianity. How and why they converted will ultimately remain a mystery. All the sociological and historical reasons can offer only partial explanations of what was happening in Sierra Leone during the first sixty years of the

century. However the form of Christianity may have appeared to spectators of the time - whether as Black European Christianity or as faulty Christianity that would purify itself through continued teaching and input from Europeans - Paul Hair's words cannot be dismissed. The expression of Christianity in Sierra Leone was a legitimate expression. Of the whole process of conversion it has been written:

> conversion implies the use of existing structures, the "turning" of those structures to new directions, the application of new material and standards to a system of thought and conduct already in place and functioning. It is not about substitution, the replacement of something old with something new, but about transformation; the turning of the already existing to a new account.[175]

What we find in the recaptive response to Christianity was indeed the transforming of the already existing to a new account. The recaptives used the pattern laid down by the Nova Scotians, to enable them to turn what was already there towards God. Their manner of expressing their Christian beliefs reflected their ability to take what did not belong to them and use it to express what was fundamentally theirs. Their use of the imagery of the heart illustrated their potential of transforming what was already there to a new account.

What is also important is the language that Christianity was presented in. This language was English. The recaptives spoke of, and about God, in a language which they themselves had to learn and adapt. The things of God were not translated into their native language, rather God and the Christian message became an integral part of their new *lingua franca*. God was always translated using the word "God" rather than the word for the supreme being in the languages of the recaptives.

Their adaptation of the English language reflects their adaptation of the diverse cultures they found in Sierra Leone. Nothing was accepted totally, but the changes that were made indicate a far deeper acceptance and adaptation than the British and Germans in the colony realised. The development of what has become known as Krio, the language - neither wholly African nor English, nor a conglomeration, nor a form

of pidgin English, but with an identity of its own, provides the paradigm for understanding what has become known as "Krio Christianity".

E T Cole wrote of the language:

> Our ancestors changed the old skin of their languages but the new skin they put on did not differ much from what necessity compelled them to disregard: in appearance it might be mistaken for a patois of the English language, but in its recesses, in its fundamental conceptions, are preserved in a large measure the notions, proverbs, prejudices, ideas and sentiments of the native mind.[176]

The deep recesses of the religion the Krio's claim as their Christianity are rooted in West African villages and American Plantations, in Nova Scotian wildernesses and Jamaican mountains as well as in the slave ships. Like the language, however, what is important about the religion of the recaptives and the descendants of the Settlers is that there was a change. The Krio language is not the same as the Mende or the Timne or the Yoruba, or the Igbo or the Jolof. It is different. There is a new vocabulary for expressing old ideas, the use of new imagery to express new images, the language is appropriate development tool of the recaptives as it contains the words for the situation, it is particularised and contextualised. The Christianity of the recaptives is also particularised and contextualised as a survey of its development indicates. As with the language, the missionaries presented the tools, the spiritual vocabulary, the format of Christianity, but the recaptives took the vocabulary and placed it within the context of their worldview; inevitably things did not fit and changes were made on both sides but the result was not simply a foreign religion handed on a plate but one which became the recaptives' own.

FOOTNOTES

1 Mrs Jesty to sister, 5 April 1819, cited in W Jowett, *A Memoir of the Rev W A B Johnson*, London, Seely, 1852, pp 165-6.

2 CAI/0126 121-2. 'Memoirs of Liberated Slaves Josiah Yansey and George Paul'.

3 A F Walls, 'The Significance of Christianity in Africa', Public Lecture, 21 May 1989, St Colms Education Centre and College, p 8

4 Caroline Ifeka-Moller, 'White Power: Social structural factors in conversion to Christianity in eastern Nigeria 1921-1966', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, vol 8, no 1, 1974, pp 55-72.

5 C C Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion in Africa*, Aldershot, 1987.

6 Arthur T Porter, *Creoldom: A Study of the Development of Freetown Society*, London, Oxford University Press, 1963.

7 *Missionary Register*, 1849, p 6.

8 R Horton, 'African Conversion', *Africa*, 1971, vol 41, pp 85-108. 'On the Rationality of Conversion', *Africa*, 1975, vol 45, pp 219-235. 'On the rationality of Conversion - Part 2', *Africa*, 1975, vol 45, pp 373-399.

Humphrey J Fisher, 'Conversion Reconsidered Some Historical Aspects of Religious Conversion in Black', *Africa*, 1973, vol 43, pp 27-40.

9 R Horton, 'African Conversion', *Africa*, 1971, vol 41, p 94.

10 Horton used the work of John Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba*, London, 1968, to identify the effect of a changing cosmological structure on a belief system. Peel believed that cosmological beliefs, after starting as dependant variables of a particular social situation, go on to acquire an institutional framework which transforms them into independent variables with their own power to bring about ideological and social change. For Horton this idea was crucial for if it was true, as Horton believed it to be, then the inter-relatedness of cosmology and social change was established and more importantly the effect of a change in the society automatically had a bearing on the cosmology which has to be adapted to make sense of the change.

11 R Horton, 'African Conversion', *Africa*, vol 41, no 2, 1971, p 104.

12 R Horton, 'On the Rationality of Conversion', *Africa*, volume 45, no 3, 1975, p 221.

13 For a further discussion see, *Modes of Thought: Essays on thinking in Western and Non Western Societies*, Ruth Finnegan and Robin Horton, (eds.), London, Faber, 1973.

14 Humphrey J Fisher, *op cit*, p 29. See Patrick J Ryan's paper on the supreme god, '"Arise, O God!" The problem of Gods in West Africa', *JRA*, vol XI, no 3, 1980.

15 The convince cult in Jamaica traces its roots back to the Jamaican Maroons. Donald Hogg has written: (Convince) "rests on the assumption that men and the spirits exist within a single, unified, social structure, interact with one another and influence each other's behaviour. The principles of reciprocity and cooperation govern the relations between cult members and certain of these

spirits". Donald Hogg, 'The Convince Cult in Jamaica', Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No 58, in *Papers in Caribbean Anthropology*, compiled by Sidney W Mintz, New Haven, 1960, p 4. A Raboteau, *Slave Religion The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1978.

16 J Goody and I Watt, 'The Consequences of Literacy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1962-3, p 333, cited in H J Fisher, *op cit*, p 35.

17 H J Fisher, *op cit*, p 36.

18 *Ibid*, p 37.

19 R Horton, 'African Conversion', *Africa*, 1971, vol 41, p 106.

20 R Horton, ' On the Rationality of Conversion', *Africa*, 1975, vol 45, p 221.

21 H J Fisher, *op cit*, p 38.

22 *Ibid*, p 32.

23 A D Nock, *Conversion*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933, p 32.

24 Recaptive Logbook, 1820, Sierra Leone Archives.

25 W Hamilton, 'Sierra Leone and the Liberated African' *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial- Maritime Journal*, vol vii, 1841, pp 34-6, cited, C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, pp 142-3.

26 CAI/0219, 25 December 1834, Weeks' journal. Companies had played an important part in the life of the Settler community before they arrived in Sierra Leone. In Nova Scotia the Government had suggested that the loyalists form themselves into companies in order to apply for tracts of farmland. T Peters to T Carleton, 25 October 1785, cited, W St G Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for the Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone*, London, Longmans, 1976, p 31. Three companies were formed and surveys conducted to lay out appropriate lots. On the way to Sierra Leone each ship had its own company of people who organised themselves around a particular leader. Once landed these leaders still held control over their people - e.g. Beverhaut.

27 *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial Maritime Journal*, vol vii, 1841, p 34-5, cited, C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, p 144.

28 CAI/087, Denton's journal for quarter ending September 1847.

29 Potts was a former sergeant in the Fourth West India regiment C.O. 267/82. Enclosures in Governor Campbell's Confidential despatch of 30 July 1827. Cited, C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, p 140.

30 C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, p 142.

31 *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 'A President Elected for the 17 Nations' 25 December 1886. John Peterson, *Province of Freedom. A History of Sierra Leone 1787-1870*, London, 1969, pp 220-226, gives a brief informative sketch of Macaulay's life and involvement in Yoruba politics. On the activities at Wilberforce see the WMMS 'Sierra Leone 1868-73', Dannet to WMMS, Wilberforce, 26 December 1872.

32 CAI/105, 22 January 1851, Graf's journal.

33 CAI/094, 9 August 1843, Frey to Secretary, report on Waterloo.

34 CAI/016, 2 July 1834, E Collins to Secretary, report on Kissy.

35 *Church Missionary Society Report*, 1849-50, Graf's report on Hastings, p lix.

36 CAI/033, 24 August 1821, John Attara to Secretary.

37 *Ibid*.

38 *Missionary Register*, 1820, Wilhelm's report on Leicester, p 280.

39 CAI/E8, 15 March 1820, Taylor to Secretary.

40 CAI/0126, 25 February 1821, Johnson's report of the 2nd anniversary of Regent's Church Missionary Association.

41 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 241.

42 CAI/E8, 4 March 1820, Johnson.

43 For an analysis of the translation process see Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message. The Missionary Impact on Culture*, Mary Knoll, New York, 1991. Mark Onsosan Ogharaerumi, *The Translation of the Bible into Yoruba, Igbo and Isekiri Languages of Nigeria, with Special references to the Contribution of Mother Tongue Speakers*, unpublished PhD thesis, 1987, University of Aberdeen, Scotland.

44 CAI/089, 23 February 1828, During's journal.

45 CAI/040, 25 March 1823, Robert Beckley's journal.

46 CAI/0126, 31 July 1822, Johnson to Secretary.

47 *Missionary Register*, 1821, Morgan's Report, July 1821, p 288.

48 CAI/040, 19 April 1823, Robert Beckley's journal.

49 CAI/0105, 9 April 1838, Graf's journal.

50 CAI/059, 17 October 1848, Bultmann to Secretary.

51 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1826-27, p 57.

52 CAI/0126, 25 Feb. 1822, Johnson's journal.

53 *Missionary Register*, 1834, p 301.

54 *Missionary Register*, 1833, p 357, March quarterly report by Schön on Kissy.

55 CAI/0131, 14 August 1835, Kissling's journal.

56 CAI/105, 25 March 1839, Graf's quarterly report.

57 CAI/0232, 19 July 1848, Young's quarterly report.

58 CAI/105, 3 Nov. 1825, Graf's report.

59 CAI/0195, 25 March 1834, Schön to Secretary.

60 CAI/0105, 17 April 1838, Graf's journal.

61 CAI/E6, 26 June 1817, Cates to Secretary.

62 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 288.

63 CAI/033, 25 June 1839, Attara's journal.

64 Personal Interview with a member of the Hunter Society from Leicester village, 8 June 1989.

65 See, P D Curtin, *Africa Remembered: narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, Madison and Ibadon, 1967.

66 *Ibid*, p 196-7.

67 See, S Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, Lagos, CMS, 1921. R R Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, London, 1948, noted that the Yoruba made up over half the population.

68 WMMS 1888, 24 December 1842, Raston.

69 CO 267/204. Governor Pine's annual report on the Colony. In Sierra Leone Archives Library.

70 CAI/079, 23 February 1844, extract from Crowther's journal quarter ending 25 March 1844.

71 *Ibid*.

72 E A Ayandele, *Holy Johnson Pioneer of African Nationalism 1836 -1917*, London, Frank Cass, 1970.

73 See Isaac B Akinyele, *Iwe ifan Ibadan*, Exeter, 1959, p 87ff.

74 CAI/089, 23 February 1828, 31, Bultmann's journal.

75 CAI/105, 24 August 1850, Graf's journal.

76 WMMS Notices, 1873-74, February 1874, p 50, Tregaskis to Secretary.

77 WMMS MFN, 14 August 1868, J Waite to W B Boyce.

78 *The British Parliamentary Papers on Sierra Leone*, 1898-99, vol 55, p 51, noted that Poro should be understood as not simply an African religious custom of satanic origins but an institution of political and social benefit to the community:

> Poro would be put on the palm trees of a district, the reason of the matter being to compel people to abstain from cutting nuts so that they might not neglect the cultivation of their rice, maize, or yams. Some physical symbol is usually agreed upon in every Poro which all the members recognise.

As early as the 1790s Poro had been recognised for what it was, a necessary and effective pattern of political control. See Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, [first published 1803], London, 2nd edn, 1969, vol 1, p 135-9.

79 CAI/E7, 6 October 1818, Johnson's journal.

80 PRO:CO267/81, Betts to Sir Neil Campbell, 1 December 1826, cited in John Peterson, 'Independence and Innovation in the 19th century Colony Village', *Sierra Leone Studies*, vol 6, no 21, July 1977, p 5.

81 CAI/0203, 20 March 1820, Tamba's journal.

82 CAI/085, 4 January 1825, Davies' quarterly report.

83 *Ibid*.

84 CAI/0126, 20 Oct 1820, Johnson's journal. The reference to soap is significant. Though Johnson laughed at the strangeness of keeping soap wrapped as a greegree, soap was used as a powerful medicine in healing.

85 M Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, London, 1901, p 143, entry for 27 June 1776.

86 CAI/105, 5 July 1839, Graf to Secretary.

87 CAI/E6, 29 September 1817, Johnson's journal.

88 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 299.

89 CAI/059, 25 December 1843, Bultmann's quarterly report.

90 *Missionary Register*, 1820, p 280.

91 CAI/059, 24 December 1848, Bultmann's journal.

92 CAI/0105, 30 September 1850, Graf's journal.

93 CAI/0105, 25 March 1838, Graf's journal.

94 CAI/0105, 28 July 1838, Graf's journal.

95 CAI/033, 11 October 1844, Attara's quarterly report on Wellington.

96 According to Yoruba tradition such an appearance of the recently dead was not only important, but of overriding significance; to disobey the instructions given by the dead was to invite disaster. Idowu notes, "The Yoruba believe that the deceased can be seen in dreams or trances, and that they can impart information or explanation, or give instructions, on any matters about which the family is in a serious predicament", E Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare, God in Yoruba Belief*, London, Longmans Green and Co, 1962, p 191.

97 *Missionary Register*, 1858, letter from John Weatherson, Freetown, 17 March 1857.

98 CAI/0203, 26 February 1820, Tamba's journal.

99 *Ibid*.

100 CAI/0219, 30 December 1838, Weeks' journal.

101 *Missionary Register*, 1819, p 381.

102 *Missionary Register*, 1821, p 319-320.

103 E Bolaji Idowu, *op cit*, p 93.

104 *Ibid*, p 93.

105 *Missionary Register 1820*, Anniversary of the Sierra Leone Missionary Society, 25 February 1820, p 517.

106 *Missionary Register*, 1819, p 381

107 *Missionary Register*, 1820, p 253.

108 CAI/040, 14 June 1823, Beckley's journal.

109 Jowett, *op cit*, p 208.

110 CAI/0126, 5 May 1821, Johnson's journal.

111 'The Long Look', p 2-3, undated sketch of a former slave, Sam Polite who lived to be over a hundred years old, *Penn School Papers*, vol 1, cited, Margaret Creel, *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion, Community and Culture among the Gullah*, New York, 1988, p 142.

112 CAI/E7, 23 April 1818, Johnson's report.

113 CAI/0126, 3 October 1821, Johnson's journal.

114 W Jowett, *op cit*, p 77.

115 CAI/089, 6 May 1820, During to Secretary.

116 CAI/0126, Communicant from Regent, 1 July 1821.

117 CAI/E7, March 25 1819, Johnson to Secretary.

118 CAI/0126, 17 June 1820, Johnson's journal.

119 CAI/E8, 17 February 1820, During to Secretary.

120 CAI/0219, 4 September 1833, Weeks' journal.

121 CAI/0126, 27 July 1820, Johnson's journal.

122 *Missionary Register* 1822, p 380

123 CAI/0126, 13 Aug 1820, Johnson's journal.

124 CAI/089, 13 May 1820, During's journal.

125 CAI/0126, 8 March 1822, Johnson's journal.

126 CAI/0126, 13 August 1820, Johnson's journal.

127 CAI/089, 13 May 1820, During to Secretary.

128 CAI/0126, 5 May 1821, Johnson's journal.

129 CAI/089, 9 November 1820, During to Secretary.

130 CAI/089, 4 March 1820, During's journal.

131 CAI/0126, 21 February 1820, Johnson's journal.

132 *Missionary Register*, 1817, p 257.

133 CAI/0126, 5 August 1820, Johnson's journal.

134 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 290.

135 CAI/089, 2 April 1820, During.

136 *Ibid*.

137 CAI/E8, 17 February 1820, During to Secretary.

138 *Missionary Register*, 1818, p 344.

139 CAI/0154, 25 December 1830, D Morgan.

140 CAI/040, 14 June 1823, Beckley to Secretary.

141 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 324.

142 *Ibid*.

143 CAI/0126, 5 August 1822, Johnson's journal.

144 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 300.

145 CAI/0126, 6 August 1822, Johnson's journal.

146 CAI/0126, 21 May 1821, Johnson's journal.

147 CAI/0126, 7 April 1821, Johnson's journal.

148 CAI/089, 3 September 1820, During's journal.

149 The hymn is better known from its first line 'O For a Thousand Tongues to sing'.

150 *Methodist Hymnbook*, London, Methodist Conference Office, 1933.

151 *Missionary Register*, 1818, p 345. In present day Sierra Leone a number of people expressed their fear of the Liberian "heartmen". These are men who killed and stole the heart from their victim for the heart provided a potent source of medicine. Conversations with students at Fourah Bay College, 20 June 1989.

152 G Schwab, *Tribes of the Liberian Hinterland*, Harvard University Peabody Museum Papers 31, 1947, Cambridge Massachusetts, p 321.

153 M J Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People*, London, 1937.

154 Meyer Fortes, *Religion Morality and the Person: Essays on the Tallensi Religion*, Cambridge, 1987.

155 Margaret Creel, *op cit*.

156 Joseph Oppala, *The Gullah Rice, Slavery and the Sierra Leone-American Connection*, Freetown. Paul Hair, 'Sierra Leone Items in the Gullah Dialect of American English', *Sierra Leone Language Review*, 4, 1965, pp 79-84. Lorenzo Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, Michigan, 1973.

157 H Sawyerr, 'A Sunday Graveside Libation in Freetown after a Bereavement', *SLBR*, vol 9, no 2, December 1967, pp 41-49, p 45.

158 M J Field, *op cit*, p 197.

159 H Sawyerr, 'Graveside Libations in and near to Freetown after a Bereavement', *SLBR*, vol 7, no 2, December 1963, pp 48-55.

160 CAI/0105, 23 July 1851. Graf's report. The Wesleyan missionaries at the village of Wilberforce found among their members those who "delight in Oro, last burying and other such relics of heathenism". Fletcher to Bryce, Wilberforce, 13 December 1867, WMMS, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, 1859-1869.

161 CAI/0195, 2 July 1846, Schön's journal.

162 CAI/0105, 23 July 1851, Graf's report.

163 *Missionary Register*, 1833, p 55. Ray has explained the Yoruba attitude to wakes in his writing on Yoruba eschatology. The burial ceremony, he believes is understood by the Yoruba as a form of covenant which separates the soul from the family and gives assurance to the family of continued protection. The dead person must be well prepared for his journey to the sky and so the Yoruba provide a fowl and spend time singing and dancing and feasting to ensure his safe arrival.

164 CAI/0105, 25 August 1851, Graf's journal.

165 WMMS, 6 January 1870, Charles Marke to Secretary.

166 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1849-50, p lix.

167 *The Harbinger*, 1863, p 63. Extracts of Trotter's journal, 6 November 1862.

168 CAI/035, 4 October 1854, Bartholomew's journal.

169 J Olumide Lucas, *The Religion of the Yorubas*, Lagos, 1948, p 137.

170 *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 5 January 1889.

171 J Peterson, *Province of Freedom*, p 266.

172 A Cohen, 'Creole Way of Death', *Sierra Leone Collection*, Fourah Bay Library, Sierra Leone, p 1.

173 J Peterson, 'Independence and Innovation in the 19th century Colony Village', p 2.

174 Paul Hair, 'Freetown Christianity in Africa', *SLBR*, vol 6, no 2, December 1964, 13-21, p 20.

175 A F Walls, 'The Translation Principle in Christian History', P C Stine (ed), *Bible Translation and the Spread of the Church. The last Two Hundred Years*, Studies in Church Mission, 2, Leiden, Brill, 1990, p 26.

176 'The Sierra Leone Vernacular', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 3 November 1888.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Development of the Churches in Sierra Leone

1 The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Methodist Churches

George Thompson, sent by the American Missionary Association in 1848 to the Mende, noted the preponderance of separate churches in the Colony of Sierra Leone:

> one man becomes disaffected and begins for himself, gathering a company around him who are called by his name, and then another and so on. Then there is Elliot's chapel, Jewitt's chapel, this one's chapel and that one's chapel.[1]

Thompson's assessment of the situation captures the spirit of the churches as one body split from another body to join a third body and finally become reconciled to the first church again. Raston, a Methodist missionary working in the colony at the end of the 1840s, wrote in a similar vein of the decade of change in the various groups.

> Among the various names of Baptist, Interceders, Lady Huntingdon's, West African Methodists, True Grace, there have been and still are divisions and subdivisions, each party setting up for themselves and conducting an independent society. As for doctrine, government, discipline or order these things are of small moment with them.[1]

The same complaints about the lack of discipline, the rejection of rules and the apparent inconsistency of doctrines were still being made about the Nova Scotian controlled churches. The complaints capture what was distinctive about the Nova Scotians; division within their numbers seems to have been their major failing. Anna Maria Falconbridge's complaint that there were seven different groups may not have been entirely accurate - she was much more concerned about the noise they were making during the night - but it highlights what became so characteristic of the Nova Scotian settlers, their numerous divisions into religious groups.

The main chapel in the Colony, that of Rawdon Street, belonged to the settlers after the traumatic series of disagreements with the Methodist missionaries that resulted in the missionaries being ousted. The settlers, with the jurisdiction of Governor MacCarthy, claimed the chapel as their own. British Methodist missionaries disagreed:

> this place was built entirely by Methodist Money and rightly belongs to us, but though I say it, from the unsuspecting simpleheartedness or ignorance or worse or altogether of the mission here, at the time they allowed a clause which completely shut themselves, and their successors out of the chapel for ever.[3]

The episode had effectively destroyed any working relationship that the missionaries hoped to have with the Nova Scotian settlers but it opened the opportunity to serve in the Maroon Chapel, on condition that the property rights of the Chapel belonged solely to the Maroons.

Only one missionary belonging to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society represented the Society in 1830. John Keightley arrived on the 27 January 1830 to find himself with full responsibility. But his first letter indicates the strength of Methodism locally, and the surprise he felt in finding the Methodist Societies so well established. Despite there being no pastors in a number of societies for over six months, "all the places of worship had been kept open, and Divine service regularly performed in all of them since the death of the missionaries".[4]

During 1831 Keightley was joined by another missionary, William Ritchie, who assisted him until Keightley left the Colony in May 1832. Keightley wrote that in the Colony, the Methodist Church was witnessing a continuing increase in numbers. Outwith the Maroon Chapel, which the Methodist Missionaries used as their base, other chapels and meeting houses were enlarging their premises in order to cope with the numbers coming along. Portuguese Town Chapel had a new gallery built onto it, the entire expense met by the subscriptions from the congregations.[5]

Ritchie wrote back of the crowded places of worship and of the work of Benjamin Emmanuel, a liberated African Methodist class leader and local preacher, without whose assistance he would be lost. Emmanuel paved the way for other Africans to take positions of recognised leadership.[6] Ritchie's report for the year ending 1832, detailed the situation:

> During last quarter we have witnessed many signal manifestations of the Divine goodness in conversion of sinners. A good work is still chiefly going on among the Maroons and Liberated Africans. Of the former, since Christmas 1831, about 40 profess to have found peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Since the above time I have not had to dismiss one Maroon from the society. We have prayer meetings in all our chapels at five in the morning, but some of the penitents have been found there at midnight and continued there until midday wrestling with God in prayer. We have an increase of 103 members during last year and we leave 63 on trial.[7]

In his letter to the headquarters he expressed his opinion on the good work:

> I am now pretty well acquainted with the habits of the people. I know well how they are wrought upon, it is not mere excitement, but sorrow for sin. Many of whom I have known would neither eat nor drink nor sleep until they know for themselves the Saviour's death.[8]

Ritchie, like Davis before him, was able to accept and interpret what he saw as "sorrow for sin". He did not doubt their sincerity, he believed they were earnestly seeking after salvation and the manner in which they did so indicated their seriousness. Many of what the missionaries referred to as "signal manifestations" of the Spirit occurred in the following years. The Nova Scotian influence continued to dictate the pattern through which the recaptives came to find Christ. Early prayer meetings, wrestling with God all night and all day, refusing to eat or drink, were common among the Nova Scotians as they searched for their salvation in Christ. The period of seeking always remained a distinctive one, conversion did not happen quietly or unnoticed in Nova Scotian circles, it involved active participation and self denial.

Representatives from the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Britain came and went. There was continual movement through death and departure to Britain, the terms of service were short, they were reduced from the standard five years to three, and most missionaries left after the completion of the three to go elsewhere. Edward Maer succeeded Keightley. The effect of such changes must have disorientated the African Methodists just as much as did the internal tensions among settler and recaptive, and recaptive and recaptive. The other effect of the movements was to illustrate to the recaptives that the missionaries were dispensable. It no doubt influenced the Rawdon Street Methodists in their appeal to the missionaries to relinquish any responsibility for preaching, and the Maroon Methodists in refusing to re-extend the lease of occupancy that they had granted to the missionaries.

Maer wrote, "How can I supply 11 places of worship and attend to the spiritual wants of so many people?"[9] Over 1,000 persons met in the classes. The majority of Methodist meeting places were in the hands of liberated African local class leaders and preachers. Maer noted that many of the liberated Africans who professed to have found peace attended classes consisting of, and led by, members of their own country people. The census of 1834-35 clarifies the position of the local preachers in ministering to the Methodist Societies within the Colony. With few, if any, missionaries in Sierra Leone it becomes apparent the degree to which Methodism was a peoples' movement. Fifty-four African leaders ran the various classes which belonged to the Society.[10]

In 1821 the Nova Scotians' main objection to British Methodism seemed to be in the person of the missionary Huddlestone, whose attempt to control and discipline them, angered them. When he left the Colony, and others arrived, the relations between some of the settlers and the missionaries began to improve. By 1829 James Wise was reconciled to the missionaries. Others, however, were firmly entrenched in their refusal to accept European involvement, believing it to represent oppression.

When James Wise and his followers had broken away from the British Society in 1821, the Rev Daniel Coker, had come to their rescue and ordained two Nova Scotians, Prince Stober and James Jewett, to the Chapel. Daniel Coker was a Methodist minister who had been sent by the newly formed African Methodist Episcopal Church in America to Africa.[11] When the African Colonisation Society in America made plans to settle freed slaves in Africa, Coker became involved. He sailed out on the Elizabeth in 1820, with a number of immigrants, and after a series of difficulties and deaths which left Coker the leading agent, the group were finally shepherded to Liberia, via Sierra Leone. Coker remained in Sierra Leone offering his services to General MacCarthy. The offer was immediately accepted by the Governor, already very short staffed. Coker was sent to the recaptive village of Hastings where he became superintendent and pastor of the Methodist Society there.

Coker's influence grew to such an extent that in 1830 his church at Hastings, and the church at Aberdeen which had broken away from the Wesleyan Methodist Society in 1821, joined with the Rawdon Street congregation in 1830 to form the West African Episcopal Church.[12]

In 1833 Ritchie was informed by the trustees of the Rawdon Street Chapel that when he could produce his appointment form from the conference especially to that chapel they would accept him. Yet shortly after Ritchie received a letter from James Wise of the Rawdon Street Methodists explaining recent events. A group of settlers continued to refuse to accept the WMMS missionaries' rights to the conference in Sierra Leone. In order to ensure that these rights were removed they had instigated a form of blackmail - no subscriptions would be given towards the completion of the chapel building until the missionaries left. Just as Grigg and Garvin had influenced the settlers to sign the declaration of Methodist Independence in 1795 when many did not fully understand what they were signing, the settlers were adopting a similar tactic with the incoming recaptives. Recaptives were asked to sign a paper asking for the removal of the rights of the missionaries:

> as long as your rights exist the public will not subscribe towards the completion of the chapel. In order to support the application they have called on a number of liberated Africans who have been liberated from the holds of slave ships to sign a paper the contents of which they neither can nor will be able to understand, which paper has for its object you abandoning the rights of the conference because the trustees of the liberated Africans will not give money to finish the chapel.[13]

Wise himself was anxious that the missionaries come back to the Chapel. In the same correspondence he wrote:

> You would be conferring a blessing on the community to encourage your preachers to officiate in that place for it is not an uncommon occurrence to see an adulterer preaching there.[14]

Many of those who had originally contributed to the erection of the chapel now no longer attended because they were "disgusted with the profession and want or religion of the few Nova Scotians and Africans who attend that place of worship".[15] This group appeared to have taken the liberties of their religion to such extremes that some of the older Nova Scotians, were now setting themselves apart from the Methodists who could only be described by their "want of religion". The group whose Christian expressions had caused men like Zachary Macaulay periods of anxiety, whose emphasis on feelings, lack of discipline and reliance on dreams and visions seemed to illustrate an ignorance of the holy things of God were now divided on these very issues. Those who followed Wise despaired at the behaviour of this group of Nova Scotians and recaptives whose behaviour was unacceptable. Was it that the Nova Scotians had changed, that education and time had developed their knowledge and understanding of Christianity or was it that the behaviour of those at Rawdon Street had become too extreme even by settler standards, so that elements of Nova Scotian Christianity had been taken beyond its recognised boundaries. The latter seems to be the more likely, for while a better understanding between the British and Nova Scotian Methodists developed through time, their distinctive behaviour, particularly in regard to conversion, remained. However time, and dwindling numbers, did affect what appeared as the extravagances of the Nova Scotian Christianity.

Prince Stober took over the superintendency of this untoward group on the death of Coker in 1835. He had experienced the wrath of British authority after the 1800 rebellion by being banished, along with twenty five others to live on the Bulom Shore, but after they had been amnestied he returned. Stober died a year after taking over, and the superintendency fell on Jewett, the other Nova Scotian ordained by Coker. For the eight years between Jewett's accession and 1844 the church swelled in numbers. This was due in no small part to the mission strategy that Jewett adopted. It had been Coker's advice that Rawdon Street work among the recaptive population preaching in the villages, establishing class leaders and ultimately building small churches. By 1840 almost every village had a church where class meetings and prayer meetings were held. Young, one of the CMS missionaries, noted in his journal for 17 January 1838:

> At ten o'clock, John Attara and myself set off to visit Calmont. This hamlet lies nearly southwest of Waterloo, and terminates the boundary of the Colony in that direction. ...About the centre of this town we came to a school of about thirty children held in a small country built chapel, erected by the people. The school was established a few years ago by Mr Jewett, of Freetown, a man of colour. He has a large chapel and congregation in Freetown. He visits Calmont twice or thrice a year, to preach to the people and to baptise. At other times the people are left to themselves. I asked the permission of the school master to question the children.... The school master is paid by the English government but the school belongs to Mr Jewett.[16]

Criticisms were levelled by the missionaries at the lax type of church control that could appear on a sporadic basis and baptise all those who had sought and found peace.

The Methodists at Hastings, where Daniel Coker had been pastor, made moves to rejoin the Wesleyan Methodist Society again, after Coker's death. Daddy Maitland, one of the elderly superannuated soldiers who attended the Hastings church, invited Maer to attend the Hastings church. The story is told that Daddy Maitland, after hearing Edward Maer preach, was so surprised that he cried out "can a white man do this - call sinners, teach, and pray with them like this. Then, from what I see, I had better invite him to Hastings to take over the Church there".[17] His disbelief that a white man could preach in a manner that he had always assumed only black men

could, illustrates the separation between the two groups where religion was concerned. A delegation was established, an official request to join again with the Wesleyan Methodists was made and the union was effected. The Hastings' congregation consisted largely of discharged soldiers of the 4th West Indian regiment, a regiment of soldiers of whom it was said, "there is a great love of religion among them, which is not observable among the soldiers of other regiments".[18]

i. The Recaptive Breakaway - A Catalyst in the Decline of Nova Scotian Control

In 1844 the independence of the recaptive people was asserted in a similar manner to that which the independence of the Nova Scotian settlers had been asserted in 1821. No doubt something of the same spirit that had dominated the settlers, was shared by the recaptives. The events of 1844 were proof of the success of the Nova Scotian Christianity, a Christianity that was tangible through the experience of "finding peace", and a Christianity that instigated a perception of freedom of not only the soul but also the body from that which restricted - whether the burden of sin or the burden of political authority.

The leader behind the rupture was a recaptive named Anthony O'Connor. He was a Popo recaptive, landed in Freetown in 1811. The Popo, who are also known as Egun or Gun, inhabit the coastal region south of Badagry. It was a major base used by the Portuguese in trading for slaves. By 1828 he had become Assistant Surveyor's Clerk and during the next few years he held a number of clerical posts with the Government. He was converted in 1833 at Rawdon Street and became a zealous believer, studying hard to attain knowledge of Christian teaching.

O'Connor was angered by the superior attitude that the Nova Scotians took over the recaptives. Despite the fact that he was a successful preacher, married to a Nova Scotian and living in the Nova Scotian part of Freetown, the settlers would not ordain O'Connor and so he was refused permission to preach from the pulpit. This was reserved for settler preachers. All others had to use the reading desk. O'Connor

finally refused to tolerate what he saw as blatant discrimination and walked out of Rawdon Street leading all the recaptives with him. The many recaptives in the villages who had converted to Christianity under Jewett and Stober's efforts likewise left the Rawdon Street connection and joined forces with O'Connor:

> There was a complete rupture in the year 1844. The occasion was this, the old people of the society, the settlers, think themselves above the liberated people and do not scruple to tell them so, neither are they afraid of calling them slaves in their palavers. In the Rawdon Street chapel there is a pulpit and a reading Desk and the settlers would not allow the liberated preachers to ascend up the big pulpit but kept them down on the reading Desk whilst the Big pulpit was an honour to be enjoyed only by settlers. The liberated Africans, who belonged to the chapel, took very great and very just offence at this treatment and it is believed to a man in every part of the Colony the liberated Africans came out from the settlers and formed a separate and distinct body, - the West African Methodists.
>
> Thus arose a religious Society of Liberated Africans and it was natural to suppose that they would have the sympathy, help and good wishes of all Liberated Africans in the Colony. On their secession they became possessed of three wooden chapels in Freetown as well as some chapels and Societies in other parts of the Colony. They built up an excellent and commodious chapel in Circular road. Anthony O'Connor the leading spirit in the society, he is a man who is hand and glove with all our principal natives, indeed on all subjects the Liberated Africans are one, indivisibly one.[19]

O'Connor took the name "West African Methodist Church", and the group initially worshipped in a dilapidated building known as West End Chapel. Contributions were made and a new chapel, named Samaria, was built for the new church. The result of O'Connor's actions was not simply to bring one more church into the Colony, but to make Nova Scotian Methodism a recaptive Methodism. The implications were far reaching. The form and pattern of Nova Scotian Methodism was relayed throughout the colony:

> Mr O'Connor now has more than 2,000 members under his care, 43 preachers, 4 exhorters. It is the peoples' society.
>
> It is not the Wesleyan, not the Settlers', not the church's but emphatically the liberated Africans' own society. Should they succeed, and that they will appear to be beyond doubt judging from the large number and the large chapels which they can build, what are they to do. It is true that O'Connor has taken the oaths and he is therefore considered as a licensed preacher but he is not ordained and without an ordained minister they are a church without sacraments, without ministerial guidance and without rule. Lay rule is not enough - they know it and feel it and they will not rest until they have ordained ministers.[20]

ii. The Growing Influence of the Wesleyan Methodist Society

In 1835 the lease that the missionaries had on the Maroon chapel expired. After the Rawdon Street breakaway in 1821 the British missionaries had used the newly built Maroon chapel to conduct their services. The trustees of the Chapel were anxious not to lose their property rights; it was the chapel that stood as firm proof of their independence in a new land. The chapel belonged to them:

> As the missionaries and the trustees could not come to terms about its renewal, (the expired lease) there was no alternative but to give up the chapel to them. Mr Maer took for his text one Sunday evening, "Behold your house is left upon you desolate". (Matt. 23, 23.) When he had finished his sermon he requested Mr Crosby to pray, put his Bible under his arm and walked out of the chapel, and never went in to preach again.[21]

Some of the 80 members left the Chapel to join the missionaries in their other chapels at Ebenezer, Bathurst Street, Portuguese Town and New Town West.[22] Others remained and these people constituted the body that took the name St John, Maroon in the 1850s.

The Wesleyan Methodist Society began preaching in several new villages of recently arrived liberated Africans. In Wellington and Hastings plans were established for the construction of larger chapels to house the growing congregations. Over 800 joined the Wesleyan Methodists during the years up to 1840. Even though their work was hampered by another epidemic of fever which killed many of the Africans there were, by 1837, 1,124 in the society and another 507 on trial.[23] The missionaries were anxious for more help and assistance in their work. However, they were also anxious to remain in control and wary of the problems of giving liberated Africans or Nova Scotians more authority than they felt was good for them. The case of James Lemon indicates the difficulties that recaptives and Methodist missionaries faced in coming to terms with a growing, developing church.

iii. Missionary Problems over "Native" Assistants

Lemon's enthusiasm for the Wesleyan Methodist Society that had trained him through school and appointed him as a local preacher, was not met with a similar enthusiasm from the missionaries. Lemon wrote to London:

> we feel grateful to God who causes his spirit to enter the European mind to send out their children to point us to the lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. I feel thankful to God who brought me to my native country when I was about 12 or 13 years of age. He called me from darkness to his marvellous light until this present moment. I am under the banner of Christ though Satan harasses me yet still by the assistance of his grace and power I am determined by my trembling head and feet to bear the cross as far as it lieth in me because I see that solid joy can not be found in any other but Christ. I feel this reconciling countenance shineth in my soul and I can rejoice that God is my father and Christ my elder brother.
>
> In this case I fear not what the world and the devil can do for me for I place my confidence in him whom I am serving. He is able to deliver me from their hands.[24]

Despite Lemon's obvious desire to serve the society there were problems over whether or not he should be appointed as an assistant missionary. Letters were written stating that the appointment would not be suitable, the reasons:

> that the mission has thrice been left without a missionary and that what has happened may happen again. Then the assistant would have full power over the affairs, that he was a liberated man with scarcely any education and but a little knowledge of the world and therefore utterly unfit to superintend the affairs of a large and respectable society; that he would be sure to essay every point that he derived as the majority of the leaders were liberated Africans which must produce a division in the society. These reasons are ten times stronger to a persons acquainted with the state of the society in the Colony than those who are not.[25]

The Methodist concern stemmed more from a fear that their own position, tenuous as it was, would be challenged by the appointment of Lemon. There never was a guarantee that new Methodist missionaries would replace those who were leaving or had died, there always was the possibility that replacements would breakdown leaving a recaptive in charge. It was this that proved to be the major stumbling block. A recaptive would be unable to attend the affairs of a "large and respectable Society". Here a prejudice emerged that was to continue throughout the century, particularly

among CMS missionaries. Edward Maer went on to inform the London Committee that in the interests of good relations with the Maroons the missionaries never let Lemon preach, or conduct a service in the Maroon chapel in case he was not well received. Again the missionaries, anxious not to offend the Maroon population, and equally anxious to retain the Maroon Chapel in which they preached, were happy to tread softly. The distinctions between the Maroons, as old established settlers, and the more recently arrived recaptives was a class and social distinction but one which the missionaries were prepared to uphold for political reasons. Finally Maer gave other reasons for his refusal to accept Lemon as an assistant missionary:

(1) he is not a sound man having for a long time a virulent swimming ulcer on his leg by which he was lame and unable to take long journeys without being invalided for a day or two, so that in compassion to his infirmities we have leant him a horse when we have sent him above five miles.
(2) We are not satisfied that his heart is so fully white as it ought to be, we have reasons to fear that if he were more advanced in that office he would be more proud, insolent and moreover that he would be the first to cause a division in our society if it were likely to turn to his pecuniary advantage.[26]

Maer appealed again to London for more workers to assist him but there were few available. The Committee, despite the issue over James Lemon, recommended that Africans could, and should, be employed as assistant missionaries.[27]

Maer employed a young recaptive, Joseph Wright, as a school teacher and local preacher. Joseph Wright was a Yoruba recaptive who had landed in Freetown in 1827. In a record of his life written by himself he records how he had been separated from his family, captured and how, when in Sierra Leone he had come in contact with the Methodist Church:

> After we were landed at Freetown, they sent us boys to Mr B Pratt, manager of York, in order that we may be instructed. There, we were placed in school. We begin at once to learn English book, which book I have cause to praise God for while I have life and breath. Through the reading of these books I came to know that High and Glorious name of Jesus Christ the saviour. I have to acknowledge that although I read these books which teach me to know Jesus Christ the Saviour I did not believe in him as I ought to believed. Although I did not embrace or believe from my heart when first I read the word of God, I had great love to it.... In five or six years after I came to this

> country, I began to learn to pray morning and evening, although i did it not from my heart; for I did not know the nature of prayer at the time....
>
> I began to attend the Methodist Chapel. I praise God and I have to praise him if I be faithful to the end that I have joined the Methodist Society, for they are not careless about my soul. They do not only tell me that the Heaven is a happy place, but they do teach me the ways to it.... From the day I met in class I began to seek the peace of God. That was from 15th June 1834. Bless be God! On 25 December 1834, I obtained peace of God.[28]

Charles Knight also volunteered and was accepted as a school teacher. Charles Knight had been brought from a slave ship to Gloucester, and after serving his statutory three months as one of the "King's men", he attended the Methodist Society and school there. He became a shop assistant to a Nova Scotian before applying as a school teacher.

In 1837, Dove, a newly arrived Methodist missionary, took upon himself the responsibility for the rebuilding of many of the chapels that were in a state of bad repair. By 1841 this enthusiastic organiser within the circuit was appointed General superintendent of the Sierra Leone Mission. His vision of the Methodist Church under the guidance of African people was taken a step further than some of his predecessors and even his contemporaries. He organised places for both Knight and Wright in London so that they could receive an education at the Wesleyan Theological Institution, Wright as a theological student and Knight as a trainee school master.[29]

On their return they were appointed assistant missionaries:

> The appointment of Messers Knight and Wright to the office of assistant missionaries we have regarded as an important epoch in the history of the Wesleyan branch of the christian church. To some it may appear no great matter of exultation especially as it is no new thing in the history of mission but to me it is a matter of great joy. I regard them as the first fruits and they are no bad sample.... They regard themselves as being the first fruits of the Wesleyan Missionary Labour.[30]

Wright wrote to the headquarters explaining that the increase in numbers attending Methodist places of worship was in part due to the adoption of field preaching, whereby people living in "idolatry rich" places such as the interior of Grassfields now

can hear the Christian gospel.[31] In 1842 there had been a religious awakening at York when the chief of the Aku and numerous of his people "turned from darkness to light". The chief became a class leader.[32]

The recaptives led the way not only in field preaching but in the conducting of Sunday schools. The missionaries, tied up with various responsibilities on a Sunday, were unable to carry out this important function but their native assistants did. The 1848 report for the *Methodist Magazine* gives Joseph May, who had travelled and studied in England along with Wright and Knight, the credit for being the first African to have successfully carried on a Sunday School. Indeed the Sunday School was an impressive sign of the respect and dedication of May to the work to which he believed he was called, for by the following year there were seven Sunday Schools for adults taking place under his authority. In 1850 Harst noted that between 30 January 1848 and September 1849 1080 full members had been added to the Society.

Through the efforts of Dove the Wesleyan Methodist Society expanded. In 1842 the situation was such that:

> Our local preachers and exhorters number 49 and many of them are qualified for assistant missionaries for had we not such a Native Agency the cause of God in this Colony could not go on with such rapidity as it does, there are 100 prayer leaders who are very diligent.[34]

There was a very real fear among the Methodist missionaries that the two assistant missionaries, Knight and Wright, would leave the Missionary Society and serve alongside O'Connor. Such an action the missionaries saw as being detrimental to the cause of the Methodist Society in Sierra Leone:

> Now we are unanimous in our opinion that the Society is anxious to get Messers Knight and Wright and we believe that they are quite as ready to go to them. We believe that they are seeking every possible occasion of producing a rupture and a split among us, they would like to go and to take as many of our principal men as they could and that many would go with them is certain.[35]

The problem was that despite Dove's care in seeking to employ an efficient native agency distinctions were made between the native agency, particularly the "assistant missionaries", and the European missionaries. Financially they received a smaller salary than the missionaries and they were supported solely by the congregations in their circuit. Knight and Wright wrote back to London stating that they were led to understand that the term "native missionary" did not involve a ministerial distinction but arose out of a financial arrangement such as not having a claim on British funds. Therefore they failed to understand why their names should not be properly arranged in the preachers' plan:

> the more we see things that we cannot possibly reconcile with the principles and discipline of that Christian Body with which we have the honour of being connected.[36]

The preachers' plan listed the various Methodist ministers in the Freetown Churches and places where they would preach - Maroon Chapel, Portuguese Town, Congo Town, West End, Grassfields, Soldier Town, and Ebenezer Chapel. The pattern was that the ministers took their places on the grounds of seniority but when a young Methodist missionary, Gerry, arrived, he was placed before Knight and Wright. They wrote that they felt they could understand the financial discrepancy between themselves and the Europeans; what they could not understand was the European failure to treat native missionaries with the same regard and respect as Europeans:

> The O'Connorites would receive them with open arms. Mr K and Mr W would become their ministers and they would form a native church with ordained ministers at its head. The idea of a native Church sounds very plausible and if fairly and reasonably established none we think could object to it but Mr K and Mr W appear to us to desire to be thrust out. Were they to have some apparent or real cause of departure it would certainly give strength and effect to their party.
>
> We ask ourselves the question would Mr K and Mr W give up near £130 per annum with us, a certain income for an uncertain one. This does not seem likely but should the O'Connorites give them salaries equal to their present income, they would be permitted to trade. And should they not receive as much yet by trading they could make up the sum and even much more. To that all our objections on that ground would be fully met.
>
> This is no vision. Mr K and W are constantly talking about the insufficiencies of their income. They cannot see why they should be shut out of all claims

> to the funds at home, they complain that their is no provision made for their families nor for their widows and children and their complaints tell us of their difficulties.
>
> We have not yet departed from what was our conviction 2 years ago that one at least of the two native ministers should be removed. It would break their power and we trust would work well.[37]

The original request from the Nova Scotian Methodists to Thomas Coke for a Methodist missionary who could perform the sacrament is parodied in the scenario that the British Missionaries feared. The Nova Scotians had originally hoped that in receiving a British Methodist they no longer would have to rely on the ministrations of the Chaplain of the Colonial Church and their final association with the British Government would be snapped. O'Connor's desired acquisition of the ministrations of Knight and Wright would allow his church to sever all links with the other Methodist bodies and function as a full church in its own right. Knight and Wright did not move across as Raston feared, but the tension created was not easily dismissed.

iv. The Testimony of John Ezzidio

The Methodist Church attracted many from the Anglican church during this period. John Ezzidio could write to the London Headquarters on note paper headed with St George's Cathedral to tell them of his testimony. (Ezzidio's shop stood opposite the impressive Cathedral). His testimony of his conversion was proof of the continuing power of the Nova Scotian tradition and proof also that the tradition was not contained to certain classes or certain educational groups. All were affected by it. He wrote of how his parents had been captured from their native lands and finally brought to Sierra Leone, of how he noticed a great change in his parents and did not know why until he realised they had left the Anglican church, had been converted and joined the Methodist meeting. He retells his story:

> My father was a native of Congo and was stolen from his parents. While they were on their way to Brazil it pleased the Lord, as he sometimes says, to send an English man of war to rescue them....

> When I was later with my parents I perceived a great change in them not knowing they both joined the Wesleyan Society and were converted. I attended the St George's Church then and I accompanied my mother on weeknights to hear the Methodists. The first sermon I heard was by Knight. I attended the chapel but I was employed by the Colonial Chaplain, as a house boy and had no opportunity of attending chapel so my heart became harder.[38]

Ezzidio finally left the Anglican Church and attended the Methodist Chapel:

> My mind was continually troubled about death and judgement, but one Sunday night I went to the chapel and heard, "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment but the righteous into eternal life". I was invited to a love feast. On Sunday I ate nothing and wore the same clothes I was not going to take them of until I was blessed. I cried, "Lord save me" - I knelt and prayed and felt a little faith springing up in my soul at the thought of Christ being willing and able to save me, and I said, "O Lord, I can believe, I will believe, I do believe".[39]

Ezzidio's conversion experience was not unusual, neither was his resolve to eat nothing nor worry about his appearance until he had found peace. It was a pattern that repeated itself throughout the century from the arrival of the Nova Scotians into the country. His testimony is of particular significance not only in providing a chart of the pattern of conversion that was still occurring in the Wesleyan services but in illustrating that the pattern was not affected by status or education. Ezzidio became one of the few Sierra Leoneans of his day to sit on the Legislative Council. His experiences in the Anglican church did not embitter him or leave him despairing of the church even though he changed and joined the Methodists where he was able to experience the great change that he had witnessed in his parents. He was a warm hearted generous devout Christian, and a powerful administrator who helped to build up the Methodist Church in Freetown.

2 The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion

The *Missionary Register* of 1840 surveyed the situation in Sierra Leone:

> Very considerable accessions have been made to the Colony, by the great number of Slaves brought in of late. Not fewer than 13,000 have been registered at Sierra Leone during the last three years. This does not include

> the hundreds, nay thousands, who have been emancipated, but were registered in the West Indies, nor the Negroes - upward of 200 - who were brought here a few weeks ago form the British Island of Bahama, and are now as free as any of their liberated Brethren.[40]

While the various Methodist Societies and the Church Missionary Society attracted the greatest numbers the churches of the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion and the Baptist Church were also important in the lives of the recaptives.

The history of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in Sierra Leone is nothing if not sketchy. It is difficult to assess how the church developed when records for part of the century, were either not kept, or, if they were, have long since been lost or destroyed by the Sierra Leone climate. During the period of the British Connexion's interest in its sister congregations there is some information available. What becomes apparent is that the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, like the other Christian bodies in Sierra Leone, was prospering, though it was a much smaller church than those connected with the CMS or the various Methodist Societies.

When John Ellis, the Maroon leader of the Connexion, died in 1839 he was succeeded by Anthony Elliot, perhaps the best known of the Sierra Leone Connexion. Elliot was a Nova Scotian he worked as a pilot leading ships into the Freetown harbour, an occupation held by many of the church leaders in Sierra Leone. He had been converted in 1813 and became a preacher.[41]

i. The Connexion's Links with England

The same year as Elliot took over leadership he sent two young men to London and they visited the Countess of Huntingdon congregation at Spa Fields. According to Fyfe:

> One Sunday they attended the Huntingdon church at Spa Fields and to the amazement of the congregation, took from their pockets copies of the Countess's hymnbook. Their English brethren welcomed them; they addressed the church meetings, and returned to Freetown with presents and promises of help.[42]

This time the Sierra Leone Connexion did not lose the opportunities that contact with England presented. Elliot kept up a prolific correspondence with the Connexion in England, as did his wife and brother.

In 1850 Elliot's son, Richard Rigsby Elliot, visited the Connexion Committee in London. The committee invited his elder brother John Bucknor Elliot to England. The two went around the congregations reminding them of the churches in Sierra Leone, describing the 11 chapels, the 48 preachers, the 89 class leaders and the many members. The Huntingdon's Connexion in England was revitalised by this news. In the report of the 32nd Annual Conference in 1853 it was noted:

> The associates connected with the name of the Colony have been the rallying point, and it is believed will prove to have been the turning point in the history of the Connexion. Previously to the year 1844 but a casual notice had been bestowed on the fact that we had brethren there.[43]

Fresh starts were made, a new magazine being one of them. Heralding the magazine, its editor wrote:

> As a living Connexion we must have a magazine. It is essential not only to our prosperity but even to our existence. The Harbinger will contain an article on some topic of importance to the Connexion. Another on the chief topic of the day. A third or more on those matters which are always of interest to the church of God.
>
> The Magazine will be the only organ of Connexional Intelligence both for England and Sierra Leone.[44]

The magazine had a distinct interest in mission and in the conversion of the Africans, an interest springing from their renewed contact with Sierra Leone. The magazine was extremely supportive of its sister congregations in Sierra Leone, always exhorting its readers to form themselves into brigades to make articles to be sold in Sierra Leone or donate money to the cause of mission there.[45]

When Elliot came to Britain in 1850 he brought with him the small book written by "that vivacious hussy Mrs Falconbridge"[46] - which made an impact on the stately Countess of Huntingdon followers who felt the injustices which had been meted out to the deprived Nova Scotians. An appeal was at once published in the magazine:

> If a petition were signed by ministers and laymen in the Connexion of the Countess of Huntingdon on behalf of their brothers and sisters in Africa with certain documents presented to the government there might yet be something done.[47]

A letter was written from Scipio Wright and Anthony Elliot from Zion Chapel to the Executive Committee of the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion saying:

> We rejoice to find that Mr Elliot's late visit to England is about resulting to some good being done for Africa from the measures that have been adopted by you to promote the cause of Christ. Ethiopia will soon stretch out her hand unto God. We propose having an executive committee formed to manage the affairs of the mission in the interior which is to consist of 17 Brethren who are to chosen out of the chapels in Freetown and the villages and we wish to have it on the same principles as yours. We therefore would be favoured by your forwarding us the necessary rules and instructions for our guidance.[48]

The committee of the Countess of Huntingdon's Society in London were pleased with their sister church in Sierra Leone. They published in the magazine the "Preaching plan" of the society:

> We have before us a printed plan of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion preachers in Sierra Leone in 1853. Two matters 2 Corinthians vi, 1 and Galatians vi, 10 provides for 17 places of worship through the year by means of 16 preachers and 44 exhorters.[49]

But Elliot pleaded with the Connexion in England:

> We are not satisfied in carrying on the work in this manner. A minister from England must be sent out to over look what we are doing. If one cannot come out let us know at once.[50]

Elliot was conscious of the competition that they were experiencing from the bigger churches, particularly the Methodists. The comment from the old recaptive at Goderich sums up the position of the Connexion in Sierra Leone:

> People say to me "Wesleyan here, white man come to dem, Church Missionary Society preach in the neighbourhood, but Lady Huntingdon Connexion have no white minister sent to them".[51]

ii. The English Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion Missionaries in Sierra Leone

In 1853 a missionary, the Rev George Fowler, was sent across. Fowler attempted to organise the Sierra Leone Connexion on the same grounds as its English sister. A district meeting was arranged for 16 November 1853. Almost all the groups in each of the villages and in Freetown agreed to attend except for Spa Street, the "dissenting congregation". At the meeting the Sierra Leone District was formed. It included Zion Chapel; St Mark's, Waterloo; St Michael's, Campbell town; St Stephens, Rokelle; Delphi Chapel, Eboe Town; Surrey Chapel, Tomo; Christ Church, Hastings; Jones Island Chapel; Macdonald's Town Chapel; St. John's Chapel, Goderich; and the missionary stations at Ro Contre, Scarcies River and Ma Bong, Sherbro Country. Anthony Elliot was appointed as President, and Benjamin Brown from Waterloo was appointed the Secretary. It was agreed that the District meetings would be held in April and November.[52]

The success of the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion in Sierra Leone is well underlined by this report. Without British aid the Connexion had successfully established a number of churches in the villages and managed to find sufficient funds to build chapels for their congregations. It was an impressive record.

Fowler's letters back to England depict a church that was often dissimilar to the Connexion in Britain. He wrote of the communion service he attended at Campbell Town:

> I had made some alterations in their usual mode of proceeding at this service which, while it appeared to me more appropriate to the occasion, removed one cause of excitement which I fear had been the means at other times of much irregularity and confusion.[53]

Fowler does not mention what it was he removed, but his alterations had the purpose of trying to bring order into what he saw as disorder. He was unhappy with the system of sponsors for a child's baptism, something that had been introduced into the colony in the early years by the CMS missionaries in an attempt to surmount the problem of the need to baptise children of parents whose faith was, at the best, dubious. Campbell Town was not the only place where Fowler made changes. At Spa fields he wrote that "what I heard and witnessed was not such as I could altogether approve"[54] and at Waterloo he was anxious to attain a more orderly course of procedure.[55]

On Fowler's arrival he had written to the Society saying that he saw his work as a process of examination of what was occurring in Sierra Leone. He wished to examine the legal documents whereby the chapels were held, the general character and quality of the preachers, the mode of acceptance into the church, the mode of conducting worship and of administrating the Lord's supper.[56] He found difficulties in all these things. Fowler found it difficult to accept the degree of excitement in the churches of his Connexion. He also found the manner in which the Connexion celebrated the Lord's Supper improper, though he does not detail the exact problems. All he notes of the sacrament was that all in attendance dressed in white and by making some alterations in their usual mode of proceeding at the service he removed one cause of excitement.[57]

The Connexion had a strong appeal to women and this was reinforced by the specifically female Band Classes. Fowler takes special note of one of these, that belonging to Scipio's wife, Mrs Wright. Members of the class were all married women. Of the Band Meeting at Waterloo it was later written:

> There was more excitement and noise than I liked, but the people here are naturally excitable. Seventy related their experiences and there was confusion when they all spoke together. The meeting lasted three and a half hours.[58]

George Fowler left in 1854, suffering from the ill effects of the climate. He kept closely in touch with the Connexion and encouraged the English Connexion to contribute to the upkeep of the missions and to support the churches.[59]

In 1856 Anthony Elliot, the esteemed leader and father of the Connexion died. Though Elliot had been ill his death sent shock waves through the Connexion which for so long had looked to his guidance and support. His funeral was one of the largest ever in Freetown. The Rev E Jones, the minister of the "Established Church" according to the newspaper report, officiated in a church where the pulpit, the desk, and the elder's pew were covered in black cloth. The chapel bell tolled as Elliot's body was carried out of the old Zion Chapel and through the streets to the burial ground. The mourners went about the streets afterwards in sorrow. Freetown was affected with the death. Before his death Elliot named J Gideon to succeed him as superintendent. In a memoir of Elliot the tribute was paid:

> Our departed friend occupied an important position among a useful body of Christians who for upward of 60 years unaided by European counsel and support have been banded together in the gospel in the colony of Sierra Leone.[60]

In 1857 another missionary arrived to Zion Chapel, the Rev John Trotter. Trotter's health failed him, after the first few months he began to suffer from the heat, he complained of being nearly roasted at Waterloo and nearly dissolved at Freetown, he ran high fevers, and his body broke out in boils. Despite his numerous medical complaints Trotter did have an impact on the church.[61] According to the memoir of Joseph Pellegrin, published in *The Harbinger* in 1863 there was a revival during 1858, the result of Trotter's preaching in Zion chapel. Several adults were converted, as was the 10 year old Joseph, whose exemplary life attracted the attention of the leaders of the Connexion. Unfortunately Joseph died months later.[62]

Trotter visited many of the churches, preached in them, baptised, married and held Communion services. By 1857 there was no minister at Waterloo and Trotter pleaded for someone to take up the position there. Trotter visited the smaller congregation at Eboe town where 60 people attended the most unusual chapel. He wrote of the pulpit, "It was quite equal in magnitude to Mr Spurgeon's pulpit". The problem, however, was its total impracticality. "One", he said, "could either be lifted up into the pulpit by some strong man or climb into it at the risk of splitting your trousers."[63] In 1859 Trotter wrote to the Committee in London begging them to allow him to attend the 1860 conference in London. He returned to Britain shortly after, but he continued to draw the Connexion in Sierra Leone to the forefront of Connexion news in England.[64]

Though many of the denominations split and set up new churches there was little, if any sectarianism in the Colony. Denominations appeared to live happily side by side assisting each other when convenient and appropriate. During the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion's celebrations of the formation of their Sunday School the Colonial Secretary addressed their meeting. The Honourable J F Smyth stated how many in the Colony felt:

> I am always glad to meet with Christians of every sect and denomination. I have no party spirit. I am willing to unite in this good work. I care not whether they are Churchmen, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, or what not, if they were united to Christ.[65]

3 The Baptist Churches

The Baptist Church in Sierra Leone always remained the smallest of the denominations. By 1827 there were two separate Baptist congregations; that of the Nova Scotians under the leadership of Hector Peters; and a church run by an Afro-American immigrant to Liberia, Colin Teage.[66] Little information is to be found on this church. Strephon Ball, a Nova Scotian, took over from Peters. The settler

attitude that caused Anthony O'Connor to leave Rawdon Street seems to have followed the pattern of the Baptists, for in 1838 William Jenkins, a recaptive, bought a separate chapel and established the African Baptist Church.[67] The Church was mainly Igbo, and became known as the Igbo Baptist Church. It was the first church, Fyfe points out, to bear a recaptive national name. William Jenkins, a recaptive, was the pastor. He had built the church on the corner of Regent Road and Goderich Street out of his own finances. Abraham Potts, responsible for the Pott's Benefit Society started in 1824, was also one of the trustees of the church. The Baptists never had more than two hundred members, Hector Peters had barely more than thirty in attendance. Yet the Baptist church, like the Countess of Huntingdon and the Methodist churches, influenced the form and activity of Christianity in the Colony. Wenzel's criticism of the "mongrel set of Baptists" who were attracting his congregation and had built a chapel half way between Freetown and Kissy illustrates this point.[68]

4. The Churches of the CMS

The Methodist missionary, Thomas Raston, noted that the CMS were prospering because they appeared to be following the policy of the Methodist Missionary Society. The Church follows us closely, he wrote, particularly in their employment of lay preachers, their class meetings, the obligations of their members to pay the class pence and the regular "watch night" services that they held in imitation of the Methodists.[69] The CMS was growing to become the most popular society in the Colony, at least outside Freetown.

By 1830 the CMS had stations; in Freetown; in the river district - Kissy, Wellington, Hastings, and Waterloo; in the Mountain district - Bathurst, Charlotte, Gloucester, Leicester, and Regent; and in the Sea district - York, Kent, and the Bananas. The division of the Colony into three districts had been made in 1827 by the Government, and the CMS had adopted their organisation.

By the end of the next decade numbers had risen through greater use of Sierra Leonean Christians. By 1848 there were 2 ordained Native Missionaries in the CMS, 6 Native Catechists and 46 school teachers.[70] The increased number meant that mission stations which had been closed were reopened. Reports from the mission field were written in such a way as to present a picture of positive and healthy mission churches reaching out to all the "benighted heathen" in the peninsula.

> The Committee feel moreover that they are justified in using the strong term PROGRESS, when speaking of the character of the Society's exertions in Sierra Leone. In a population of 21,000 liberated Africans, of whom 12,000 belong to the villages which are under the charge of the missionaries, 3,000 are constant attenders on public worship, 3,000 children and adults are under education, and there are 695 Communicants under Christian Discipline.[71]

"Progress" was a word that frequently appeared in the missionaries' quarterly reports as both church and school attendances increased. The tables that were published after each yearly report indicated that in each village there was a substantial congregation with morning and evening services, and sometimes afternoon and all night services. The 1834 general summary was broken down into each church in each village. Of the 3,000 attending public worship, 200 attended at Gibraltar Chapel on Sunday morning, and 150 on Sunday night; Kissy had a morning congregation of 750 and an evening one of 450; Wellington had 500 attending in the morning and exactly half that number at night and Gloucester claimed 580 in the morning and 250 in the evening. Leicester, its neighbouring village had a much reduced congregation of only 48 all told on a Sunday but Regent, the other mountain village, had an attendance of 620 in the morning and 300 at night.[72] From the list it is immediately apparent that the large congregations occur in villages where numbers of recaptives were continually being added. The Colony could boast a church going population but according to the missionaries, this was a population of, for the most part, nominal Christians.[73]

Townsend, a newly arrived missionary in the colony in 1839 wrote:

> No one arriving here would imagine that he was in a country the inhabitants of which had been accustomed to idolatry; but in one where God had been for

> many years worshipped in spirit and in truth. The solemn stillness of the Day of rest reigns around: business and work are laid aside; and numbers of both sexes are seen hastening to school, to learn to read, and to be instructed in Christian Religion.[74]

The Freetown churches, both the Methodist and the CMS gatherings, were overcrowded by the end of the 1830s. A number of collections were made by each group, and also spontaneously by recaptives in the villages, to gain sufficient money to upgrade old churches and to build new ones.[75]

i. The Success of the Village Churches

Plans were drawn up for a building that could house 1,000 people. When the carpenters of Freetown offered their work free of charge for a week in order to make the roof, the missionaries were made aware once again that the people saw the church as their privilege and their property. Christ Church opened on 10 October 1849, amidst great crowds and great rejoicing. The congregation at this new church in Pademba Road were encouraged to subscribe not only to the Society but to a special collection for supporting their own Christian visitors.[76]

Whenever a church was renovated or newly built numbers increased dramatically; the signs of success produced success. The church at Kissy built in 1819 was extensively repaired during the 1840s with the result that 300 people were admitted to membership in the three years from January 1846 to 1849. Out of a population of about 3,000 in the village 800 attended church.[77] The fear of the missionaries was that the people were content to attend church once on a Sunday but they were only "satisfied with having the name of being alive while they were really dead".[78] Schlenker, a German CMS missionary, wrote of Kissy:

> All are decently dressed and if their faces were not black, one would think he was in a village in Germany.[79]

At Wilberforce the parish of St Paul had been created in 1817, though a stone church was not built until 1910. Wilberforce was a Kosso (Mende recaptives were referred to as Kosso in Sierra Leone, the name today is seen as one of abuse) dominated village, and the first missionaries had little success in breaking the strong allegiance the recaptives had to their own headman. Kosso carried out legislation, brought fellow members to trial, and passed sentences. When the CMS missionary, Metzger arrived at the village in 1823 he recognised the power that not only the Kosso but the headmen of the four other main ethnic groups in the village had, and in recognising it he drew up an agreement with them. The agreement signed by the five headmen and Metzger who accepted the title "chief headman", stipulated that the village people would attend to the Sabbath Day and keep it holy, would stop shooting guns within the towns limits, would stop performing tribal rituals and would keep Wilberforce clean. The agreement recognised the power and position of the headmen and their right, along with Metzger, to decide who should settle in and around the village. Attendances at the church in Wilberforce rose as the agreement took effect. Unfortunately once MacCarthy learned of the nature of the agreement he had Metzger removed from Wilberforce and sent to Kissy to serve under Nylander.[80] The opportunity for the Church at Wilberforce to make a significant impact on the village was removed, and many of the population turned to the Methodist and the Countess of Huntingdon groups. The Kosso remained the most powerful group dominating the village.

Churches were crowded to excess in the villages; there were so many in Goderich and Sussex that the churches were unable to hold them all. The decision of the CMS to place in each of the villages "steady and experienced catechists" reaped its results. A number of female prayer bands were formed. Beale reported of Goderich:

> Several female communicants came to me today, asking me whether they might not meet among themselves once a week to sing, to read a part of the Holy Scriptures, and which was their chief object, to offer up prayers for the sick.[81]

This band later became known as the Women's Christian Association. It was initially comprised of members from not only the CMS congregation but from the Methodist and Countess of Huntingdon Churches in the village. Frequent private prayer meetings were held all over the villages. The missionaries rarely attended these, leaving the people the freedom to conduct them how they wanted to. Prayer was one of the most significant features of the recaptives' lives; even those who were not followers of Christ recognised the power of prayer, or at least associated prayer with church members. When the CMS missionary Schlenker's wife was seriously ill, some of his congregation came to him assuring him that all would be well. One man came and said that they all would "stand together in prayer, and the Lord shall show wonders."[82]

The CMS mountain districts remained under the control of J F Schön during 1836 and then were taken over by Bultmann and Warburton. Attendances remained impressive at the morning services at Gloucester, Leicester, Regent, Bathurst, Charlotte and Hastings but the number of communicants varied with some suspensions for breaking the commandments, or living immoral lives.

The foundation stone for a stone church was laid at Charlotte in 1825. On the fourth Sunday of each month the minister from Regent came across to Charlotte to celebrate communion. It was a lively though small church. In 1866 a wooden pulpit was installed, a donation from the sale of handiwork of the recaptives of the village. The name of the village of Leopold was changed on the death of Princess Charlotte. The village had been named after her consort Prince Leopold of Saxe Coberg, but on the Princess's death the village was renamed after the Secretary of State in London, and it became Bathurst.

At the close of 1837 the CMS missionary, William Young, took up residence in Waterloo where approximately 5,000 recaptives lived. Young discovered the intense desire the people had for books and tracts when they rushed after him asking for them and eventually brought the door of his house down in an effort to obtain some.[83]

Peyton followed Young and he could report "Many families have left off their drums and dancing and are now constant attendants at Church on the Lord's day".[84]

A church was built at York and the parish named St Henry in 1843 twenty four years after the village was formed but the CMS were always overshadowed by the Methodists and the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion there.

5 The Impact of Christianity. - The Continuing Nova Scotian Influence

As was noted earlier, communicants were frequently suspended until they produced evidence of the means of grace again. It was not sufficient to act in a Christian manner - everyone in the Colony was expected to do that. The Christian tradition that prohibited trading or work of any sort on Sunday and expected attendance at church, the insistence on religious instruction for all children in the schools and the demand that all children be baptised in the church, ensured that the recaptives adopted the outward form of Christianity. Communicants were suspended when their behaviour ran counter to the dictates of the Church. Some of the missionaries feared that many of those who professed Christianity were only doing so for the benefits they could obtain or because they felt pressurised to do so. Inhabitants were required to attend church to be married and to abstain from working on a Sunday because of this neither Church attendance nor Sabbatarianism could point to those who were Christians. Concern was expressed that at times the Christianity of the recaptives was little more than a veneer covering a great host of sins. Missionaries remained disappointed with their communicants, who still appeared to lack vital Godliness. Kissling noted, "Though their conduct appears to be consistent with their profession, there is not, I fear, that vital Godliness among them which might be expected". By the 1840s Kissling was wishing for a "revival in their souls that they may not rest satisfied with the mere form of Christian Religion".[85]

While some expressed their concerns over the veneer of Christianity, others found the very existence of a veneer comforting. It provided proof of success and pointed to the

way ahead. Major Octavius Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Sierra Leone in 1834, wrote of the Liberated Africans in his care:

> His charms and incantations are superseded by an outward observance, at least, of the forms of Christianity. The lax intercourse of the sexes gives way to the obligations of marriage and the consequent reciprocal duties of Parents and Children are created. On these follow industry and order and in a few years the former Savage is found either a useful artisan or a small trader in the town or a labourer in the villages, surrounded by his family with ample means of support and in the practice and comforts of civilised life - the old consoling themselves for the loss of their country in the freedom of their children and their children exulting in their freedom as their first Birthright.[86]

There were those like William Young who could write of the situation in 1836:

> After a series of falls, separations, persecutions, sickness, and death, and amidst all the power of the enemy there perhaps never was an era, in the history of the West African Mission when it was in a better or sounder state than now.... Idolatry is not so glaring; the heathen are not so bold, though they worship their idols in secret. I have seen them blush when they have been reasoned with on the folly of their idol worship; and have left them in much confusion.[87]

It was among the Methodist congregations that the most significant "signs of vital Godliness" started to occur. The cause was attributed to a new emphasis on the doctrine of sanctification. John Wesley's doctrine of sinless perfection came to dominate a number of the Methodist congregations in the Colony. That this particular doctrine became so attractive to the Sierra Leoneans surprised some of the missionaries who believed that the recaptives' had an abhorrence of the idea of personal sin:

> Some who were seeking made expression of such innate depravity as I have never heard Africans make before. This proves to my mind that the work is real as they have a natural dislike to the doctrine of depravity.[88]

Part of the attraction was no doubt the continued emphasis within this doctrine of experiencing rather than simply accepting as fact, the power of the Divine. Just as within conversion the experiencing of God at work was a crucial factor in the whole event, so too in the understanding of sanctification this same emphasis on feeling a

new work of God in the person's life became the dominant feature. The special experience was found not only on the main meetings but also in the small band meetings. It appeared during the 1840s in many of the societies. Henry Graham, a Methodist preacher, recorded his experience of sanctification. He was told by one of his fellow preachers, "Brother Graham, I think you have been converted but there is something yet for you which you do not know about". From that period on Graham was anxious to know what this special thing was but, he says, it was not until he was at a prayer meeting and saw another preacher, Brother Decker being blessed with full salvation that he recognised what he was missing, "I then felt to give myself to him to be anything or nothing as it should please him best. Glory, glory to God for this full salvation".[89] One of the Methodist missionaries, Richard Harst, reported on the activity which he himself became influenced by:

> When this work commenced it met with such opposition, not only from members but even from leaders. They abused their members for seeking it, charging them with serving two Gods, the God of justification and the God of sanctification. One of these leaders was persuaded to go to a private band and see for himself. He did and soon found the blessing he had opposed. He also came to the monthly band meeting. It fell to my lot to lead it. He related his experiences and never shall I forget what he said, the effect it produced on the congregation. He began by saying "I used to oppose this doctrine myself, I did not like it nor did I like to hear my members speak of it in class. I did not believe any one could live without committing sin. I thought it a wrong direction and persecuted them for believing it but I soon found that their experience was better than my own. When they spoke of perfect love and what a blessing they felt in living entirely to God I know not how to answer, then I saw that they had something which I had not. My heart was troubled, I saw that unless I got more religion my members would soon be able to lead me and I went to a band meeting and there God sanctified my soul, and now blessed be God I know the doctrine is true. I feel it in my heart at this present time I will never speak against it again".[90]

The search for the "second blessing" was a movement from the recaptives themselves in their private band meetings. It was another experience of the heart, "I feel it in my heart". It was seen as a gift from God, not to be worked for but given by God after one searched for it. It was similar to the process of conversion in that the convert went through a similar period of anxiety in the search and finally received the gift in joy but it was regarded as something greater and more special than conversion. The class leader who was anxious to get the blessing was so because he was worried

that unless he got more religion his members would soon be able to lead him. Sanctification indicated a further stage of maturity in the Christian life.

Wesley had written of the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit. He held that a believer was no longer governed by sin because he had put sin to death in his life as a result of the new birth. From this point there was a stage believers could reach where the love of Christ so filled them that the love became the conditioning feature of their lives. It was at this stage that the believer led a spotless life. The fourth section of John Wesley's hymnbook contains hymns "For Believers Groaning for Full Redemption".[91] Of the doctrine of sinless perfection he wrote:

> Why should *devout* men be afraid of devoting all their soul, body and substance to God?... We allow, we contend that we are *justified freely* through the righteousness and the blood of Christ. And why are you so hot against us, because we expect likewise, to be sanctified wholly through his Spirit?[92]

For Wesley sanctification was an act occurring at a specific time rather than a slow and gradual process that went on throughout a believer's life. His hymns capture the intense emotional experience of the act. It was the proof that a believer was in a right and Holy relationship with God.

There were those who doubted their sanctification just as there had been those who doubted their salvation. Harst records the case of one women who had been tempted to doubt, but in speaking about her experience in a band meeting she was assured that she had been sanctified:

> This is not the only case I could mention but only one among many. Indeed the whole society seems to be hungering and thirsting after right. May God speedily feed them.
>
> One woman received a blessing but had been tempted to doubt the reality of it, as she was stating her doubt the snare was broken, she seemed overwhelmed with an assurance of God's sanctifying grace and gave vent to her feelings by praising God. She is a leader of a private band. Those who are dead are now showing signs of real life and others who were dying are now in full strength for eternal life. In my humble opinion our great doctrines of entire holiness is the effectual cure for the many defects in the religious character of the Africans. Sin exists in almost every shade in an African even after conversion.

> There are many defects but it is amazing to see how this doctrine strikes at the very heart reforming the character but almost changing his very being as well. The change is far more striking in an African than in an Englishman.[93]

So Richard Harst described the situation he found in 1850 in many of the Methodist congregations in Freetown. The process of sanctification blossomed in 1850. It was not a doctrine introduced by the Methodist missionaries who were only too frightened that such a doctrine might be misinterpreted to give an even greater licence to the antinomian spirit that seemed to dominate Methodism in the Colony. Harst was genuinely surprised at the reaction of the Africans to the new theology - it appeared to change their very nature, giving them a new perception of sin and the ability to be free from it. The significant feature of sanctification was the dramatic nature of its reception. It parallelled the enthusiastic Nova Scotian response to conversion. It was in essence an action in which the participant experienced on an emotional level what was happening on a spiritual level in their lives. The "Second Blessing" allowed the spirit of Nova Scotian religion to re-express itself. It gave credence to an enthusiastic response, and within the Society and particularly within the private bands those who claimed to be sanctified were recognised as having progressed in their Christian lives. The Methodist use of Morning Prayer as a regular feature of Church activity had slowly ousted the opportunities for enthusiastic outbursts and so it was with much encouragement that the doctrine of sanctification was preached from pulpit to meeting place. The signs of vital godliness were to be found in claims by the recaptives that they had found perfect love in living entirely as God wanted them to live. It was a feeling in their heart, they claimed, a pleasurable feeling of joy and peace which caused them to shout and sing praise to God for his gifts.

6 The Impact of Christianity - The Influence of the Recaptive Missions

In 1837 Trinidadian freed slaves passed through Sierra Leone on their way to freedom and their home country via Badagry. Their journey inspired those who, a few years earlier, had lived in and around Badagry and Abeokuta. Two years later twenty three of the Yoruba merchants in Freetown petitioned Governor Doherty to sanction a

return of Yoruba to establish a colony at Badagry under the Queen's Jurisdiction. They requested that missionaries be sent to accompany the people. The consequence of their action would be, they hoped:

> the slave trade can be abolished, because the dealers can be afeared to go up to the said place so that the Gospel of Christ can be preached throughout the land.[94]

The Governor, while indicating that it would be impossible to send the Yoruba with the adequate provisions of security and protection, did give them his permission to go if they so wished. Many did so, trading along the coast as they went and building up a community of Sierra Leoneans in Badagry. By 1840 members of the church at Kent were expressing an interest in going back among their own people to tell them about God. The Niger Expedition was planned for 1841 and the sense of movement and adventure that the talk of the expedition brought into the colony was infectious. While many had left before to travel up-country, some finding their way back home, this was the first period when a concerted effort was made by church members, to evangelise their fellow country men by living among them.[95]

In 1841 Buxton's dream-child, the expedition that was to open the Niger for trade thus creating a new source of income and smashing the motive behind the slave trade, was launched. His plan was simple in its origins:

> Africans protected by Britain, guided by missionaries, and working with capital from European merchants, would not - like European merchants - stay shyly away from the people, but move inland and man factories at every strategic point, living together in little colonies, little cells of civilisation from which the light would radiate to the regions around. As catechists and school masters, they would preach Christianity; as carpenters, tailors, sawyers, masons, and artisans, they would improve the standard of housing and household furniture and build the necessary roads and bridges to make a highway for legitimate trade. They would be commercial agents to encourage the cultivation of crops like cotton and indigo, which they would buy for the European market in return for European manufactures. They would teach new arts and new ideas and in every way bring down the old society in which the slave trade was based and set up in its place a new social order.[96]

The Expedition was launched with great celebration and at great cost - £100,000. J F Schön (a German working for the CMS in Sierra Leone), Samuel Crowther (a Yoruba freed slave), and Simon Jonas (an Igbo), joined the expedition in Sierra Leone. The death of 45 Europeans changed enthusiasm into despair and changed attitudes towards the role of the Sierra Leoneans. From a commercial and a political point of view the expedition was regarded as a disaster, but Schön and Crowther recognised the potential for expansion of the work of the CMS in the Niger region. Jonas was invited by the ruler to stay at the Igbo town of Abo. It was men like Jonas, Crowther believed, who would be the instruments for evangelising the Niger:

> It would be practicable to employ native converts from Sierra Leone who are willing to return to teach their fellow countrymen.[97]

Fyfe notes, however, that it was the Trinidadians, whose exodus to Badagry inspired the Yoruba, who were responsible for opening so unobtrusively the new epoch for Africa that the Niger Expedition heralded so obtrusively.[98]

i. The Methodist and CMS Missions out from Sierra Leone

The Methodists were the first to recognise the significance of the Yoruba exodus and to take action. In June 1841 Thomas Dove, the superintendent of the Methodist Mission, announced that he had received two letters from Badagry pleading for missionaries. The Methodists sent Thomas Birch Freeman to Badagry, accompanied by a Fanti assistant missionary. There they organised prayer meetings and services on Sundays with the already established Christian Sierra Leonean community there. Freeman became aware that while Badagry was used as a stopping point many of the recaptives travelled further to Abeokuta. Freeman visited Abeokuta and was warmly received.[99]

Henry Townsend, sent on a similar mission of enquiry by the Church Missionary Society to establish the grounds for a new mission, was also encouraged by what he

found in Badagry. When Townsend had been chosen to visit Badagry he had received many letters asking to be allowed to accompany him if, and only if, he intended to "sit down in the country". When Townsend returned he was inundated with questions about the homeland. He wrote back to London requesting that the CMS commence a mission in the area.[100] With Yoruba still leaving Sierra Leone in great numbers a base was created for what became known as the Yoruba Mission. Accompanied by Andrew Gollmer, a German CMS missionary, and Crowther, Townsend made his way to Abeokuta, the centre of the Egba group of Yoruba, and began a CMS mission there. The mission was effectively separated from Sierra Leone in 1844, though it worked on the principle of establishing a tiny Sierra Leone in Yorubaland.[101] Samuel Crowther was instrumental in initiating new developments and building up old, the mission worked using the Yoruba language as Crowther, his family and many helpers were native speakers. Townsend, a brilliant linguist, edited a Yoruba newsletter.[102]

Those who travelled to Badagry as traders, merchants, carpenters, and builders, were competent in the faith, and it was they who formed the basis of the Yoruba mission. Many of them were the unrecognised, unpraised missionaries who enabled the members of the official mission team to carry out their translation work while they carried the burden of regular missionary activity.

In Sierra Leone the schools began to decline in number daily as families left to sail to the country of their origins. In 1843 Warburton was met by a delegation from the Nupe people asking that the CMS send a missionary to work among them. The letter dated 19 September 1843, stated:

> there is one of the Nupe nation J Bartholomew employed by our society as school master in Sierra Leone. Might not he become a missionary to his own people.
>
> In consequence, we, of Nufi, have made a subscription of a small sum of 10 pounds as a benefaction to the Church Missionary Society, accompanied with our earnest request that the CMS will, when able to do so, send a missionary to Rabbah.[103]

Almost every report details the desire among the recaptives to return home and to tell their fellow brother and sisters about Christ. Schoolboys approached their teachers begging them to consider the poor benighted heathen in the boys' homelands. Charles Davies, one of the CMS catechists working at Kissy, noted one boy coming up to him in 1843 giving a small donation and asking for missionary help:

> Sir, you know remember the plenty of people who have left for that country and they all pray much before they go that white missionaries may come and teach them God's book.[104]

To assist the many leaving, the CMS missionary Graf asked his congregation to give generously to a collection, "for our parting friends that they may be enabled at once to form a Christian Relief Company". This, he hoped, would prevent them from becoming dependent on the country people whose companies centred around "idol worship". Communicants gave readily into the local funds for the support of native assistants on the Yoruba Mission who did not receive a salary from the Missionary Society.[105]

All who journeyed back brought with them their faith. One of the recaptives, Jacob Vonbrunn, tells of how he ventured back to his home country in Grand Bassa country, (in what is now Liberia) where he was able to meet with his family. He noted in a journal that he kept:

> When I saw that my country people were highly interested everywhere to hear the Word of God I employed myself the more going out among them in different towns, especially on the Lord's Day to impart to them religious instruction.[106]

When Jacob Vonbrunn made to leave for Sierra Leone again the people begged him to stay and continue teaching them. On realising he would not be persuaded, they asked him to ensure that a teacher was sent to help them.

The 1840s and 1850s saw many leaving with the assurance that they were bringing to their fellow country men the news of the Gospel of Christ.

ii. The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion's Missions

It was not only those connected with the CMS and the Methodist congregations who were inspired by the idea of going to their country men with their beliefs. The Countess of Huntingdon Connexion undertook one of the most successful missions into the interior of Sierra Leone. Hearing that the King Canrebah had expressed an interest in acquiring the "white mans' knowledge", J B Elliot, Scipio Wright and Samuel Laminer from Zion Chapel, and Thomas Janett of Tombo visited King Canrabah Caulker of Sherbro country, requesting that permission be granted to establish a church and a school among his people. These four arrived at Mabang Factory in Sherbro and collected Thomas Ellis, a Countess of Huntingdon Maroon, and King Canrebah's chief secretary, who acted as interpreter to the Timmanee King. J B Elliot informed the King how pleased the white people were to hear of his interest and after presenting him with a robe, made by the ladies of Spa Field congregation in London, a letter from that church and a Bible, he announced that "the white people wished to assist him in introducing Christianity to his country and in furnishing the means to realise the cultivation of cotton in his territories".[107]

The king responded to Elliot's request positively but before signing a final agreement, the king asked for time to write to his friend in Freetown, John McCormack, to make sure that he was making the right decision. He wrote:

> My good friend, Mr J B Elliot is the representative of the Countess of Huntingdon Church called upon me to get him a place in this river to establish a school for edifying of children in general. Before I shall entirely submit to his request I think proper to acquaint and get your intelligence on our good friend and counsellor in general and in case you feel disposed to sanction the same to desire him to send or bring up such presents as may serve to mitigate the rest of the chiefs connected with my authority.[108]

McCormack's response was not only to encourage the King to accept the mission but also to encourage him to pay the missionaries rather than expecting payment.[109] Elliot was called back to visit the king in a letter of 14 July 1852 in order to make final arrangements. He informed them that he would be glad to have a school opened at Bompeh, his place of residence. He informed the missionaries that he would go ahead as:

> he was anxious to get there to prepare for us by removing the porror or fettish men, so called, before we should arrive on that business and to inform a few of his old people living at Bompeh of the arrangements.[110]

The king, impressed by the missionaries who came, sent word to Freetown for further men, particularly a school teacher to conduct the school. Charles Daniel Cromarty, a schoolmaster and prayer leader at Campbell Town, was chosen. In an emotional valedictory service he was commissioned. The instructions delivered to him were recorded in a memorandum which was sent from the trustees of Zion Chapel to the Connexion in Britain.[111]

Cromarty reported back to Zion Chapel acknowledging the contribution that those from Sierra Leone who were now resident in the area were making to the spread of Christianity. He noted:

> There were persons in our congregation from Sierra Leone with whom I had a little conversation after service who told me that some of them had been about eight years in the country having belonged to the Baptist Connexion in Freetown.[112]

The success of the mission was seen in the conversion of old Pah Bang, the elderly chief of the area, who threw away all his idols and greegrees in order to follow God.[113]

A second area of mission was organised in the Scarcies. A letter to the Connexion in England informed them that on 8 April 1852 two brothers from Zion Chapel were set apart for the Scarcies mission, Joseph Easton, an exhorter, and John Morgan, a

prayer leader. It was centred at Ro Contre and services were held in the Palaver House. The mission's success was illustrated by the fact that the chief at Ro Contre gave strict orders throughout his dominion for the Sabbath to be kept holy. The services that were held at Ro Mangey were in Timne. Morgan noted that:

> As I was reading the word of God to the people they loudly responded in their own language, "Yes it is the truth," and "Yes, let us hear the word of God", they were very attentive.[114]

The king was dressed as he thought appropriate for the services in a large red shirt and that which was usually worn when attending religious ceremonies connected with traditional worship. The king wore a number of little leather bags around his neck which held scraps of papers with extracts of the Qur'an on them. When the king converted many of his people responded. The king told Morgan and Easton:

> I used to follow the example of my father in worshipping sticks and stones but now I confess all such to be vain. The Lord is one God and he gives us all things we have.[115]

The reports of the Countess of Huntingdon Mission continued to receive praise in *The Harbinger* in Britain. The mission was proof that missionary activity in the hands of the Africans was successful. They saw it as proof that their small denomination had a role to play in the great mission of the evangelisation of Africa, and the world.

As clerk, railwayman, mechanic and above all as trader, the Sierra Leonean penetrated everywhere the British did, and further afield. Wherever he went he took the Bible, his hymn-singing and his family prayers. In area after area well into the twentieth century the first contact of African people with the Christian faith was through an itinerant or immigrant Sierra Leonean.[116]

It was these people, the workers of Sierra Leone, who fulfilled the original aspirations of the Directors of the Colony that Sierra Leone should be a light in the darkness.

It is not only the fact that they carried with them their religious beliefs, giving them authority and reality outside Sierra Leone, the cradle of the missionary churches, but that they themselves established centres of Christian worship that drew others in. The desire to conduct missions to the non-Christian people of West Africa had inspired the early Nova Scotian settlers and had remained a priority on the agenda of the converted liberated Africans.

The activities of the middle years of the century dictated the policy of the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Society for the remainder of the century, and encouraged the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion in Britain to support its sister congregation. In the proceedings for 1849-50 the CMS section on the church in West Africa was presented under three distinct aspects:

> Pastoral Mission work within the Colony.
>
> Preparatory measures within the Colony for the extension of mission work into the interior of Africa
>
> Missionary Efforts for extending Christianity into the interior.[117]

The same categories could have been used by the other Christian churches in Sierra Leone to explain their church and missionary activity.

7 The Changing Face of Sierra Leone - Education

Wilberforce wrote:

> the native Africans should be educated to our language, religion, habits of industry, the mode of cultivating lands and our mechanical arts. In this mode of learning, by imitation they will grow familiarised with all we wish them to know.[118]

Education was the linchpin of the development of Christianity in the Colony. Through the schools the CMS were able to influence the ever increasing population in a way

that they could not possibly have done do using only the churches. The church of the first generation Sierra Leoneans was a church constituted for the most part of those who had sat under missionary teaching and of those who were aware that in order to succeed in the life of the Colony they needed to give allegiance to the religious system of those who taught them. Schools and Sunday Schools were in every village where the missionaries had churches.[119]

Schools were often held within the church, it being the only large secure building in the villages hence Christianity was associated with education from early childhood. The school teacher was often the village pastor, or if not, then an employee of the CMS or the Methodist society. The two became inseparable. After examinations hymns were sung as a sign of thanksgiving and prayers offered. MacCarthy was impressed when he visited Regent to examine the schoolchildren there as to how neat they appeared and how well they sang the hymns:

> the examination was very properly concluded by singing, the boys and girls in a chorus of praise to our Redeemer. The singing was executed with taste and good voices.[120]

The Sierra Leone Company had sent two school masters to the Colony in 1794, though their names are known, not for their educational contribution, but for their political opinions. Nova Scotians themselves took charge of schools that they organised, the Beverhaut sisters, both taught at schools. Both had married CMS missionaries, one married the Rev Gustavus Nylander, and the other the Rev Melchior Renner. The Governor supported these early educational attempts. A school was formed by the Methodists to care for the children of their denomination. When recaptives began to arrive into the Colony the nature of schooling changed as the increasing population demanded. A female recaptive school was opened in Freetown, which taught girls until 1816, but the majority of the recaptives were educated in the villages where they lived. A Daily Colonial School for boys and one for girls was set up in Freetown in 1817 but these schools were for settler children only. The separation of recaptives from settler born children served to underline further the

distinction between the two groups already developed by the settlers. Clarke, the Senior Assistant Surgeon to the Colony in the 1830s, wrote of the educational system:

> The Creoles are taught in schools separate from the Liberated African children. This distinction inspires the Creole children with ideas of their own superiority, which they discover on every occasion.[121]

By 1840 there were a total of forty two schools in the Colony of which fourteen were Government Schools, six of which only admitted recaptive children, and the other eight only admitting Colony born children. The other schools belonged to the various missionary bodies but they too, it was reported, only accepted Colony born children.

Those who came to Sierra Leone as school teachers, and those who were trained by the CMS and the Methodists found their task a difficult one. There were cases where the pressure of life in the Colony became so great that methods and means were adopted by the teachers that were unacceptable. J Gerber, the CMS superintendent of the Sea District, wrote to one of his school teachers, Robert Beckley, forbidding him to continue with the following actions:

> Confining Children under the floor of your boys school room where there is scarcely any air, neither room for them to sit up.
>
> The practice of putting iron rings around the necks of little boys and girls and joining them together with chains for the crime of running around the town.
>
> The practice of giving boys and girls who have deserved some little punishment over into the hands of the older boys and girls to inflict the same upon their bodies.[122]

On the whole the teachers were the unsung heroes of the story of Christianity in Sierra Leone. Just as the missionaries continually acknowledged that the hope of Africa lay in its rising generations, it was on the schooled rising generation to which all hopes were pinned. It was they who were able to read the Bible and the Prayer Book, to participate fully in Church services and to teach others. CMS and Methodist Missionary Christianity was above all else a literate religion, its success depended on

not simply being able to repeat the Bible, but to read, teach and explain it, along with the liturgy and the catechisms of faith. Therefore the policy of the Society was to "spare no pains in the education of children". Writing of the role of education in 1834, the Methodist missionary Maer noted:

> hundreds, and I may add, thousands of the adult population will not attend to hear the word of life but all are anxious to have their children instructed so that the schools, in this country especially are to be regarded as powerful ancillaries to the gospel. If these go hand in hand we have encouragement to believe that much good will be done and that the spread of the gospel among us will be more rapid and extreme.[123]

Betts, the CMS superintendent of the Sea district after Gerber, had realised that not only were many adults outside the CMS churches but there was also a large proportion of parents who were members of other denominations, yet their children continued to attend the CMS schools:

> scarcely any of the parents of these children [those attending the school] are in any sort of spiritual connection with us: many of them are disaffected towards the Church of England and her Religious Services.[124]

While the parents may have rejected the worship of the CMS churches in favour of that of the Methodists, Countess of Huntingdonians and Baptists, they respected the value of education sufficiently to ensure that their children attended school.

There were inevitable difficulties in the schools. Shortages of staff were matched by shortages of material. Pupils attended depending on the season and the work do be done. Many of the recaptive children were forced to stay at home. When some of the families who had taken in the children discovered that they would not only have to feed them but to send them to school, thus depriving themselves of workers, they refused to look after any more children. In a report of the State and Prospects of Education in Sierra Leone the CMS presented its plans in 1815:

> The Church Missionary Society has entered on an extensive plan of education at Sierra Leone which has received the sanction of His Majesty's Government.

> Its intention is to form an Institution on a plan suggested in a former report by this board, which shall combine instruction in the ordinary branches of elementary knowledge with instruction in agriculture and other useful arts. A grant of one thousand acres of land has been made to the Society with this view and the necessary buildings are now erected at its expense. The requisite number of teachers has been sent out.[125]

The Institution was built on Leicester Mountain. The initial years of the Institute were strewn with difficulties due to lack of staff and resources. The report of the West African Mission stated:

> The Christian Institution - the only one of its kind in Africa - will ever remain an undeniable evidence of the anxiety of the Society to promote, to the utmost of its power, the civilisation of Africa. It must and ever will command the gratitude of every well wisher to the African Race.[126]

MacCarthy, in 1818, suggested that the institution be used to give a select few a superior education.

> The diffusion of true religion will still be the one great object of the Institution while therefore pious and promising youths will be trained up for Christian teachers among the country men. It will be found not a little conducive, under the blessing of God, to the main purposes of the Society, with reference to Africa to afford a good education in sound principles and useful knowledge to such youths, as may be designed for situations in the colony.[127]

The Institution created a new class of people in Sierra Leone, those who were professionally qualified, and who had learned the manners and custom of Britain.

The Institution played a valuable role through its translation work. Missionaries were assisted by the British and Foreign Bible Society in their task of translating the Bible into some of the local languages.[128] The report of the Bible Society in the 1817 *Missionary Register*:

> The Native languages of the Western Coast are numerous; and they have all been, till lately, unwritten languages. In the Susoo and Bullom a beginning has been made, by the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. A number of Copies of St. Matthew's Gospel translated into Bullom by the Rev G R Nylander, and printed with the English in parallel columns by the Bible Society, have been sent out to the Sierra Leone Auxiliary Society; and Mr Nylander has

> prepared the other three gospels in Bullom, and Mr Wilhelm those of St. Matthew and St Mark in Susoo, whenever circumstances shall render it expedient to print them.[129]

The Institution was to continue this work of:

> perfecting and printing the works already in preparation in Susoo and Bullom and ultimately for supplying the numerous tribes on the Coast and in the Interior both with instructors and with Elementary Books and the Scriptures in their various tongues.... Further advances may be made in the grammatical knowledge of Susoo and of Bullom and some acquaintance formed with Timanee and other tongues by means of the liberated Africans.[130]

The Institute remained at Regent until the death of W A B Johnson. It fell into decline for a few years until it was reopened as the Fourah Bay Institution in 1827. The CMS sent out a Bavarian, the Reverend C L F Haensel who had worked for the Basle Missionary Institute, in an attempt to establish a more liberal arts education at the College. Again, after a spell of success, too few school masters and lack of enthusiasm saw it languishing during the 1830s. The Niger Expedition inspired both the CMS to throw new energies into training up native catechists and ordinands. In 1845 Governor Fergusson laid the foundation stone of the new building of the Fourah Bay Institute. The curriculum included the study of the classics as well as theology and Arabic.[131] While the Institute was geared towards the training of catechists, the CMS recognised the need, which MacCarthy had earlier noted, for education for those whose interest lay in training outwith the ministry.

The CMS Grammar School, founded in 1846, was most effective in its training, the school was not run as a charity. Fees were expected and paid, and though the CMS subsidised scholars to begin with, within ten years most of the finance came from the parents of the school boys. The CMS created and educated a middle class in Sierra Leone.[132] The education policy acted as a sharp divider segregating wealth and social standing, creating strata in society that were to have an impact on the very future of the church and the Colony. A recognition of the powerful effect such a class could and would have can be found in the CMS's creation of a girls' fee paying school for

the express purpose of educating girls as suitable companions for husbands from the Grammar School and the Christian Institution. The CMS appointed Miss Julia Sass to undertake this responsibility for the new "Female Institution" opened in 1849. The Institution was renamed the "Annie Walsh Memorial School" in memory of a young woman intending to come to Sierra Leone as a missionary.[133]

By the 1840s there were few government schools at all, almost all of them were church controlled by the CMS and the Methodists. Raston wrote to London:

> I look at the children as our future church. Now is the time to strike a blow. You are aware that importations of Africans become more and more seldom, therefore Sierra Leone is becoming more than it ever was a staid community and as to the children it is now with the Creoles that we have to do with more than any other.[134]

It was the liberated Africans who performed most successfully as school teachers. Educated through the Methodist and the CMS schools they took up posts in the Colony teaching at the church schools. From an early period this was encouraged. Even Huddlestone, who spoke so strongly against "native preachers", recommended that "coloured men with a little learning" would be of great value to the mission as school teachers.[135]

The Methodists influenced by the CMS training institute at Fourah Bay made plans to establish a similar place of their own. When a building came up for sale at King Tom's point it was bought for 300 guineas and converted from its past use as a naval store room to become a school to educate the trainee pastors. Thomas Raston wrote back to London concerning the school:

> Our institution for the training of Native Agents was commenced in the month of March and though it is still in the days of small and feeble things yet we are rejoiced to see tokens of promise.[136]

Charles Knight, as the senior "native minister" in the Methodist Society, insisted that the moral standards of the Institute be kept high. He ordered that all students be put

through a course of "strict discipline and obedience" to give them "strength of mind and help them avoid sinning". Times had changed in the Methodist circles.[137]

The Institute became the centre of the church life and men like Charles Knight, who saw the necessity of having a well trained native ministry, enforced a code of strict discipline onto the rigid scholastic study. Indeed when Raston wrote:

> 10 years ago I am not aware that any African had learnt anything besides English, now in the CMS grammar schools and Institution they have some famous Latin and Greek scholars and Mathematicians too. And why cannot our institution have a classical scholar.[138]

He had already resolved to commence the teaching of the classics. Both Fourah Bay and the Methodist Institute produced young men of high calibre who were to make an impact in Sierra Leone. The 1847 Methodist Report commented on the six men who had completed their training at the Institution - Peyton (Hausa) went to the Gambia, Renner (Krio) became a Christian visitor and preacher, Decker (Krio) became a teacher in the schools connected with Zion chapel, Crowther (Cosso) and Black (Krio) became teachers at York and Hero (Popo) took charge of the school at Atlas Town.[139] Fourah Bay had similar records of success.[140]

The Countess of Huntingdon Connexion had established schools but faced difficulty in funding them.[141] In 1844 Commander Hall, serving on the West Coast of Africa, visited the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and was impressed by its struggle. On his return to England he sent out a "liberal and handsome supply of books for the use of the Day school and the Sunday school".[142] The Connexion raised money for the upkeep of their schools through bazaars in the Freetown markets and through contributions and gifts sent from England.

The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion realised the importance of training for their ministers after the missionary, George Fowler, sent from the British Connexion, expressed his anxiety concerning the lack of discipline and teaching in the churches.

It was Fowler's special interest to develop the Training Institute for the training of "native clergy". His consideration of the situation was sharpened with the awareness that the Anglican community could now turn to a Bishop of Sierra Leone. He was concerned that the Bishop would have an unsatisfactory appeal to the churches and influence them along Anglican lines, something that would dissipate the number of the Huntingdonians. He wrote:

> On account of this, [the new Bishop] as well as on others, it is of the utmost moment that one of our brethren should visit these churches and the several stations, especially the new stations, not only to see how they do, but to advise and exhort and arrange for sufficient training of native teachers.[143]

The Training Institute struggled from lack of funds, lack of teachers and lack of adequate materials. It gradually faded and though it was revived a few times it never really managed to fulfil its hoped for function.[144]

The Educational Establishments were seen by the missionaries of all denominations to be the training ground for "native pastors". It was through the Institutions that recaptives would learn the skills and knowledge needed for leadership of the churches that would eventually mean independent self governing African Churches. As early as 1820 the Committee of the CMS in Sierra Leone observed:

> It is obvious that the time spent by the Native Teachers in acquiring some maturity of knowledge and experience, before they are sent forth among their country men, will be the most beneficial in the issue. The Committee have, in consequence desired that the Natives received into the Society's service, should be habituated, on the well digested plan, to visit their country-people either in or out of the Colony and in keeping schools in Native Villages in the Colony.[145]

Venn, the secretary of the CMS, and the architect of the plan for a self governing, self supporting, self propagating indigenous Church, had views on the role of education which differed from those views of the early CMS. Venn's final plans for an indigenous church that would be different from the Church of England had no place for the policy of civilisation as a preparation for salvation. Venn was critical of

investing too much missionary time in education thus removing converts from their community. He did see the need for an intensive theological training, but a training that did not elevate the native pastor beyond their own people in wishes and desires.

Alongside Venn's fear that education would remove the pastors from their people was the view expressed by James Johnson about the effect education had on the languages and the language of Sierra Leone. He wrote of the situation:

> ...when the Colony was yet young, European missionaries, who, to their praise be it said, were the educators of the people, and the Government united together to attempt to give the people of many different African tongues, liberated recaptives from slavery, the English language as their common language, the medium of communication between themselves and the channel for imparting religious teaching and education to them. There was however a small minority of fellow missionaries and other Europeans then, including a lady of culture, who protested very strongly against this novel method of teaching a new and foreign people, this indirect method to suppress their native languages, and the unwillingness manifested to adopt two, at least, of the leading native languages which were spoken by the greatest proportion of them and by means of translations into them make them the channel of instruction to them, especially of it, and who predicted that education imparted and Religion taught after the new fashion introduced would always be very weak generally.[146]

Johnson went on to point out that matters would have in a great way mended themselves had there not been such a strong prejudice against the "Sierra Leone English". It was a language that the people loved and enjoyed, a language born out of their own situation, a language which touched their hearts and spoke to them in a manner that no other language could do. Unfortunately the situation had arisen in Sierra Leone where:

> the language spoken in the school and church is very different from that spoken generally in the streets and in every native home in the colony.[147]

Education inevitably meant the use of English in Sierra Leone, and with the use of English went the features and rituals of civilisation - the neat houses, the tidy dress, the desire for industry, the attendance at Church services and the proclamation of

belief in Christianity. Education established the pattern whereby these events took shape and it provided the means to achieve them.

Johnson noted that the language of the church and the school was different from the language of the home and the street thus immediately creating two very different lifestyles. The majority of those in the colony were involved in both lifestyles and the apparent dichotomy between the two was accepted as part of Colony life. It led to two world views being held simultaneously - one which found its base in the British contribution of education and Christianity and one which was based in home and family life, in communal activity and shared traditions going back far beyond the advent of Christianity.

The schools, the Methodist Institution, the shortlived Countess of Huntingdon Training Institute, and Fourah Bay College, as Arthur Porter points out, together formed one of the important mechanisms providing for social mobility, the royal road to success and to positions of power and prestige.[148] It was through the process of education that the CMS missionaries believed they would be able to break the power of the settler theology and the settler rituals. Without the schools and colleges Sierra Leone might well have remained a stronghold of Nova Scotian religious traditions. To a degree education did do this, but not in the way the missionaries hoped and believed it would. The Nova Scotians and the recaptives, following in their tradition, never believed that their behaviour was the result of a limited theological education.

They were convinced that they knew the truth of religion, and that in their heart-felt experiences they came closer to God than any theological learning could ever bring them. Preaching and teaching did not "correct" their beliefs. Education, and the road of success that it led to, changed the population rather than the beliefs. As time progressed the expressions and rituals that had been so much a part of Nova Scotian Christianity dwindled as fewer and fewer sought to make the "promised land" the centre of God's dealings with his people, and more and more looked towards Britain as a new "promised land" brimming with the milk and honey of success. The two went

hand in hand and the missionaries began to wish for the days when cries for mercy and "finding peace" were common. However, the milk and honey of success had long been portrayed as the blessings of God on a civilised people. In their search for success the educated Krios did not involve themselves in a materialistic quest after mammon. Church attendances continued to increase, and the Churches that were controlled by Europeans became more and more attractive, as the decline of the popularity of Rawdon Street, and that of Anthony O'Connor's church after he died, indicated.

8 Summary

In 1854 A H Foote wrote:

> if all that the negroes of all generations have ever done were to be obliterated from recollection for ever the whole world would lose no great truth, no profitable arts, no exemplary form of life.[149]

In Sierra Leone in 1854 James Johnson and A B C Sibthorpe began their terms at Fourah Bay College following in the footsteps of Samuel Crowther. Vidal, the first bishop in the colony, visited the Yoruba mission and ordained two Africans, T B Macaulay and Thomas King, at Abeokuta. They were the first to be ordained in West Africa.[150] The CMS Register noted that there were three ordained native missionaries, six native catechists, eight native Christian visitors, 56 native teachers and schoolmasters and seven native school mistresses. The Methodists had three missionaries, and three Native assistants to look after 4,354 communicants.[151]

The CMS Annual Report stated:

> The statistical returns show a considerable increase in the number of communicants, who now amount to 3,354. When it is remembered that all are registered, and met in frequent classes, and that a very large proportion of the numbers are under pastoral superintendence of native ministers and catechists, the Committee are persuaded that there is here good evidence that Christianity has taken root, and shall grow and increase until it becomes a large tree, and its branches overshadow the land.[152]

In 1854 Crowther was accompanying the merchant McGregor Laird on a new Niger expedition. He wrote in his journal of that expedition:

> God has provided instruments to begin the work, in the liberated Africans in the colony of Sierra Leone, who are the natives of the banks of this river.... It takes great effect when returning liberated Christians sit down with their heathen country men, and speak with contempt of their own former superstitious practices.... The services of such persons will prove most useful in the introduction of the gospel of Jesus Christ among the heathens. When they go, and with all earnestness, invite their countrymen, as Moses did at Horab, "Come with us, for the Lord has promised good to Israel," and all this in his own language, with refined Christian feelings and sympathy, not to be expressed in words, but evidenced by an exemplary Christian life, the services of such persons will prove most useful in the introduction of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the Heathen.[153]

In 1854 the O'Connorites had been established for 10 years, Rawdon Street Chapel for 33 years, and the stone church at Regent for 38 years. In 1847 about 200 of the original Huntingdon chapel broke away to form a rival chapel, Spa Fields, under a recaptive, William Purdie, yet the Huntingdon churches were still strong enough to propose an Executive Committee "formed to manage the affairs of the mission to the interior, which is to consist of 17 Brethren who are to be chosen out of the chapels at Freetown and the villages",[154] and the comment was made by the Huntingdonians in Britain that, "all hearts were glad to see the gospel carried by blackmen to blackmen."[155]

Buxton Chapel was opened in New Town West in 1854. It was the crown of Methodist activity for the decade and an effective reminder of the work of the instigator of the Niger Expedition and the devotee of the theory that if legitimate trade was firmly established in Africa then illegitimate trade, the slave trade, would cease. Money for the building of the chapel had been raised by wealthy recaptives.[156]

The 1830s had been the mission years within the Colony as settler and missionaries had made an effort to establish churches among all the recaptive peoples. The 1840s witnessed not only mission within the Colony but outwith it, as Christian recaptives returned to their homelands, taking the Gospel of Christ with them. The 1850s saw

the continuation of both types of mission but there was a difference. A spirit of change was prevalent in Freetown as people waited in anticipation for the outcome of the many rumours of independent churches, and the supposed disappearance of the British missionaries. Some of the CMS missionaries, aware of the changes underfoot with the Secretary's policies for a Native Church, not only encouraged African participation in preparation for the event but began to explain the hopes for the future to converts, eager to listen.

A new class of people were making their presence felt in the Colony - recaptives with education, qualifications, money and religious convictions to equal any white man. It was these people, the "African Bourgeoisie" as July calls them, who effected the development of the church in the 50s, for they were the role models for the many recaptives who aspired to such heights.[157] They were the proof that Christianity led to success. The old recaptive who told Graf:

> Mohammedan religion teaches Black people the art of healing diseases and of protecting from dangers by means of working charms taken from the Koran and the Bible teaches white people how to make money.[158]

came closer to the truth than many of the theological explanations of the power of Christianity over the recaptive. The role of Christianity changed, and it was used by some as an accessory to their life style, a society requirement and a social grace.

It was significant that many role models of the community had been educated in the schools organised and run by the missionary organisations and all were keenly involved in the churches of their persuasion. Fergusson, the first black man to hold the position of Governor, a West Indian who had received his medical training at the University of Edinburgh, noted this:

> The government schools were open to all classes but the Creole population preferred paying for education under the European teachers of the missionary society, to the gratuitous teaching of the native teachers in the Liberated African schools.[159]

Control of business, pleasure, social schemes, newspapers, steamers, transport, small shops, and trade were for the most part in the hands of the recaptive and Krio people. One of the recaptive's advertisements for sale of his wares indicates the increase in living standards - black suits and patent leather boots, muslin dresses, ladies hats and silk bonnets, hams, mixed biscuits and tea, port and sherry were among the common stock in the shop of John Ezzidio,[160] Mrs Melville's descriptions of the Freetown she knew points to recaptives enjoying the luxuries of life:

> ...their dress is that of Europeans, the wealthier sort wearing jackets, waistcoats and trowsers of cloth, white duck or blue baft, with broad brimmed straw hats tied round with black or coloured ribbon, or round smart cloth caps, while the ordinary apparel of domestic servants consists of a white jacket, check shirt and duck trowsers.[161]

The missionaries believed that the rise in standard was the direct result of the Christian lifestyle. A CMS missionary, Beale, in one of his journals, makes this point clearly:

> I visited an old thunder worshipper, who, on a former visit, had promised to come to the church. I now called him to account for not having fulfilled his promise. He made many vain excuses, as, being sick, etc. which I told him would not do at all at the judgement seat of Christ. His house was the picture of misery and heathenism, and showed what man is without the Gospel. His walls were covered with devices of what kind of creatures are best known to himself, by which he devines, when applied to by any of the people. His hut was miserably filthy, small and so dilapidated as to afford very little shelter from the weather. On one side were two or three dirty broken cooking vessels, and on the other a female fast asleep, while he and another female seated on a dirty floor were eating out of an iron pot with their hands. His wife, he said, had ran away....
>
> I now turned from them with a sad heart to the house of one of our people, which afforded a striking evidence of the benefits of christianity. Here as I entered the door a smile crossed the countenance of the man and his wife, both of whom arose and welcomed me to their new and comfortable home, and immediately hastened to place a seat for my accommodation. Here I found industry, the usual attendant on the right reception of Christianity. The wife was sewing a dress and the husband a pair of new trowsers, their three little ones playing cheerfully around them. The house had a very different appearance from the one I just left. The walls, though of mud, were well constructed and had a neat and clean appearance, and there were many articles of European furniture. Its appearance bespoke the dwelling place of the Son of Peace.[162]

Porter has examined the rise in status of the Liberated Africans to produce the specific society that became known as Krio Society, and in doing so he has indicated the manner in which the original settler classes declined in precedence and the incomers, the recaptives struggled to rise. Porter's interpretation of Krio Society tends to give the impression of a uniform society overlooking the various class differences within, which were and have turned out to be much more significant to the development of Sierra Leone.[163] Robert July gives the same impression in his work, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*. He notes that a policy based on a philosophy taken from the ideals of the abolitionist and humanitarian reformers of Victorian England, promoted trade and encouraged missionary activity to introduce civilisation. This affected the development of a new "bourgeoisie" in Sierra Leone. "This policy, unconsciously pursued in Sierra Leone, succeeded in producing educated Africans virtually indistinguishable in their standards of behaviour, in their ethical and moral judgements, in their economic goals and in their attitudes to the African Hinterland, from the Englishmen who had been responsible for their training and who were their inspiration".[164]

Porter cites Forbes, writing in 1849, on the liberated African:

> The liberated African often rises into a man of property, and eight or ten thousand pounds is by no means an uncommon sum for them to possess. On dashing steed they may be seen galloping around the race course in the evenings. Two in particular, Messers Pratt and Isodore, are men of great wealth, and merchants in the Colony.[165]

Isodore was John Ezzidio. A Committee headed by W H Pratt represented the liberated Africans at the Government House. The years were prosperous as "society years" and the recaptives prided themselves in the positions that they held within the Colony. There seemed little in the way to their success; even the settlers appeared to have lost the manipulative side of the power they had earlier used to keep the recaptives down. This loss is partly explained by their declining numbers. The recaptives were in a position where they began to consider themselves as a class above others living in the Colony. They attended the schools whereas the immigrants from

the neighbouring areas who came into Freetown often remained outwith education and hence the church. The very existence of a class below them had the effect of crystallising the recaptive body into a stratum within Freetown society and with in that stratum there was the space for climbing the social ladder and aiming for control.

As we have already noted the church was a means of climbing. Not only were jobs available within the church, but the importance of being a member of one of the major churches in Freetown in order to function as a successful business man, lawyer or doctor has to be appreciated. It is significant however, that very few churches from Freetown itself provided young men to train for the ministry, the clergy was dominated by the village boys. Freetown churches had many of their young men in church, but as professionals attending the services rather than as ministers leading and assisting in them. This reflects a difference in accessibility to the other professional jobs if one was outside Freetown, but it is also an indication of the extent to which Freetown was predominantly settler in its religious persuasions. The villages always had a higher population of CMS churchgoers than Freetown which contained the remnants of Nova Scotian thinking in the Methodist, Baptist and Countess of Huntingdon congregations.

FOOTNOTES

1 George Thompson, *An account of the Missionary Labours of George Thompson in Africa*, Dayton, Ohio, 1857, p 29-30.

2 WMMS, 1908, 11 July 1849, Raston.

3 *Ibid.*

4 WMMS 1855, 23 February, 1830.

5 WMMS 1856, 19 January 1832, Keightley.

6 WMMS 1856, 4 April 1832, Ritchie.

7 Report to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for 1833, p 57.

8 WMMS 1857, 31 January 1833, Ritchie.

9 WMMS 1858, 15 December 1834, Maer.

10 WMMS 1863, 30 June 1838, Dove.

11 Daniel Coker was a slave who fled from Maryland to New York, he became a Methodist and was ordained by Thomas Asbury. He bought his freedom with money provided by four men who were concerned that he should come back and establish a church in Baltimore. Coker came to Baltimore, taught in a school there and remained active in the Methodist Church. He was one of the leading advocates for the establishment of a separate church for coloured Methodists which finally did come into existence as the 'African Methodist Episcopal Church'. Frederick Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism*, New York, 1974, pp 169-174. See also, Alain Rogers, 'The African Methodist Episcopal Church, a Study in Black Nationalism', in *The Black Church in America*, (ed) Hart M Nelsen, Raytha L Yokley, Anne Ko Nelsen, New York, Basic Books, 1971, pp 17-43.

12 C Fyfe, 'The West African Methodists in the Nineteenth Century', *SLBR*, vol 3, no 1, June 1961, pp 22-28.

13 WMMS 1857, 17 May 1833, James Wise.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

16 CAI/0232, 17 January 1838, William Young's journal.

17 Charles Marke, *The Origin of Wesleyan Methodism in Sierra Leone*, London, 1913, p 49.

18 *Proceeding of the Church Missionary Society*, 1828-9, p 49.

19 WMMS 1908, 11 July 1849, Raston. On Anthony O'Connor see the short biographical sketch contained in the *United Methodist and Free Church Magazine*, 1861, pp 175ff.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *The Missionary Notices*, vol VIII, p 170.

22 *Sierra Leone Watchman*, cited in W Fox, *A Brief history of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa*, London, 1851, p 389.

23 WMMS 1908, 5 July 1849, Knight and Wright.

24 WMMS 1858, 12 August 1834, James Lemon.

25 WMMS 1858, 12 August 1834, Edward Maer.

26 WMMS 1858, 12 August 1834, Maer to Secretary.

27 *The Annual Report of the Methodist Missionary Society*, 1834.

28 Joseph Wright's notebook 'The life of Joseph Wright a Native of Ackoo', is in the WMMS archives dated June 1839 in Sierra Leone 1835-40. On Charles Knight, see E Matei Markwei, 'The Rev Charles Knight in Methodist History - I', *SLBR*, vol 9, no 1, June 1967, pp 23-34 and p 25.

29 *Ibid*, p 26.

30 WMMS 1894, 7 February 1848, Dove.

31 WMMS 1888, 15 February 1842.

32 W J Townsend, H B Workman, and George Eayrs, *A New History Of Methodism*, vol 2, London, 1909, p 313.

33 WMMS 1910, 30 January 1850, Report from Freetown.

34 WMMS 1842, *Annual Report*, 23 December 1842.

35 WMMS 1908, 11 July 1849, Raston.

36 WMMS 1908, 5 July 1849, Knight and Wright.

37 WMMS 1908, 11 July 1849, Raston.

38 WMMS 1911, 3 Feb 1851, Ezzidio.

39 *Ibid*.

40 *Missionary Register*, 1840, p 48.

41 C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, vol 4, no 2, Dec 1962, p 56. Fyfe notes that his obituary was printed in the newspaper, *The African*, 2 October 1856.

42 *Ibid*, p 57.

43 *The Harbinger*, January 1852, p 26.

44 Ibid, p 2. The Connexion had previously recorded in the *Evangelical Register* which all free churches had contributed to.

45 That first issue of the new magazine, *The Harbinger*, contained an article on the 'Hair of a Negro' proving that despite the fact negro hair looked decidedly different from that of the human race, it was indeed hair and not wool as was commonly supposed. The proof came from Dr Prichard's, *Natural History of Man*. A taste of things to come.

The women of the Connexion were encouraged to make loose round pinafores and frocks of strong dark print, and belts for the school children, *The Harbinger*, 1853. There was a running advert encouraging everyone to buy their arrowroot from John Powel and Co. of 4 Canon Street Road, St. George East. Elliot had sent over 230lb of arrowroot.

46 A F Walls, 'Nova Scotian Settlers', *SLBR*, no 1, 1959, p 21. The book by A M Falconbridge was entitled, *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone during the Years 1791-2-3*, and published, London, 1794.

47 *The Harbinger*, March 1852, p 93. A series of articles were written in *The Harbinger* enlightening the Connexion as to what they believed had happened during the first twenty years that the Nova Scotians were in Sierra Leone and how the British government had failed to fulfil their promises. Though much was written nothing seems to have come of the reports in the way of direct action but the sympathy generated continued to mean support, both financially and in material goods.

48 *The Harbinger*, January 1850, p 26.

49 *The Harbinger*, September 1853, p 285.

50 *The Harbinger*, September 1854, p 248.

51 *The Harbinger*, January 1854, p 24.

52 *Ibid*, p 22, letter from George Fowler, 11 November 1853.

53 *Ibid*.

54 *The Harbinger*, April 1854, p 105.

55 *Ibid*, p 104.

56 *Ibid*, p 104.

57 *Ibid*, November 1854, p 353.

58 *Ibid*, September 1854, p 248.

59 *The Harbinger*, 1863, p 53.

60 *Ibid*, p 316.

61 *The Harbinger*, January 1859, p 18, letter dated 15 November 1858.

62 *The Harbinger*, June 1859, p 125.

63 *The Harbinger*, June 1859, p 129, letter dated 25 March 1859.

64 It was to Trotter that the Connexion continued to send their reports. Trotter was in charge of African affairs for the *New Magazine*.

65 *The Harbinger*, April 1853, p 123.

66 C Fyfe, 'The Baptist Churches in Sierra Leone', *SLBR*, vol 5, no 2, Dec 1963, pp 55-60, p 58.

67 *Ibid*.

68 CAI/E5A, 5 February 1817, Wenzel to Pratt.

69 WMMS, 16 January 1849, T Raston.

70 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1848-9, p 58.

71 *Missionary Register*, 1834, survey of missionary stations, p 14.

72 *Ibid*, p 489.

73 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1848-9, p lx.

74 *Missionary Register*, 1839, p 9.

75 CAI/0131, 12 February 1838. Kissling wrote of the decision to create a fund to build a new church 'I named the idea to the Rev D F Morgan, the colonial chaplain and he at once subscribed 3 pounds towards a new chapel. His Excellency the Governor, His Honour the Chief Justice and the Hon H W Macaulay, as soon as I apprised them of the subject gave a donation of 5 pound each, expressing their great satisfaction with the plan in contemplation'.

76 T S Johnson, *The Story of a Mission, The Sierra Leone Church: First Daughter of the CMS*, London, 1953, p 55. The pupils of the CMS Grammar School attended.

77 *Missionary Register*, 1836, p 420. Kissy was a large village about three miles from Freetown and one of the main centres of CMS worship. The houses were reasonably well built following the fashion of the Nova Scotian settlers. They were built of wattles and plastered with mud inside and raised above ground level.

78 CAI/078, 22 March 1836, Croley's journal.

79 CAI/0192, 13 January 1838, Schlenker to Secretary.

80 CA1/M2, contract between the Rev W G E Metzger and Headmen of Wilberforce, 1 September 1823.

81 CAI/036, 10 October 1848, Beale's quarterly report.

82 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1849-50, p lx.

83 CAI/0232, 2 January 1838, Young's journal.

84 CAI/0173, 17 December 1839, Peyton's quarterly report.

85 *Missionary Register*, 1835, pp 107-8.

86 CO267/123, Lieutenant-Governor Temple's dispatch no 53 of 10 June 1834. Cited in C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, p 145.

87 CAI/0232, 2 July 1836, Young to Secretary.

88 WMMS 1910, 2 September 1850, Richard Harst.

89 WMMS 1910, 7 February 1850, Raston.

90 WMMS 1910, 2 September 1850, Richard Harst.

91 *Collection of Hymns*, 1780.

92 'A Plain Account of Christian Perfection', (28), in John and Charles Wesley, *Selected Writings and Hymns*, F Whaling (ed), London, SPCK, 1981, p 377.

93 WMMS 1910, 2 September 1850, Richard Harst.

94 Enclosure dated 15 November 1839, CO 265/154. Cited, J F A Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891 - The Making of a New Elite*, Evanston, 1965, p 28.

95 CAI/059, December 1840, Bultmann's quarterly report.

96 J F A Ajayi, *op cit,* p 12.

97 K O Dike, *Origins of the Niger Mission 1841-1891*, Ibadan, 1957, p 8.

98 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 227.

99 WMMS report, Thomas Birch Freeman, 1842, p 102-3. Fox, *op cit*, p 577.

100 CAI/0215, 12 October 1842, Townsend's journal. See also the report on the Yoruba Mission in the *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society 1854-55*, pp 41-57.

101 J F A Ajayi, *op cit.*

102 *Ibid*.

103 CAI/0218, 19 September 1843, Warburton's quarterly report.

104 CAI/082, 23 November 1843, Davies' journal.

105 CAI/0105, 27 March 1842, Graf's journal.

106 CAI/0217, 30 November 1843, Jacob Vonbrunn's journal of visit to grand Bassa country.

107 J B Elliot, letter sent 8 December 1851 from Upper Small Scarcies, printed in *The Harbinger*, 1852, p 242.

108 *Ibid*, p 244.

109 *Ibid*, p 245.

110 *Ibid*, p 276.

11 Letter dated 18 January 1853 and signed by A Elliot, J B Elliot and J Gideon, *The Harbinger*, May 1853, p 152

112 *The Harbinger*, May 1853, p 155.

113 *Ibid*. Letter from A Elliot 17 February 1853, *The Harbinger*, 1853, p 156.

114 *The Harbinger*, 1853, p 185.

115 *Ibid*, p 188. Letter from Freetown Connexion dated 18 March 1853, *The Harbinger*, 1853, p 316.

116 A F Walls, 'Black Europeans, White Africans', in D Baker (ed), *Studies in Church History*, 1978, p 342.

117 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1849-50, p lii.

118 W Wilberforce to J Clarkson, 27 April 1792. Ad. MSS 41262. Cited, Ellen G Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* New York, p 82.

119 *Missionary Register*, 1835, p 503.

120 CAI/E6, 20 September 1818.

121 R Clarke, *Sierra Leone Customs and Manners*, London, 1843, p 33.

CO267/166, enclosure in letter from Doherty 27 October 1841, cited, A T Porter, *Creoldom: A Study of the Development of Freetown Society*, London, 1963, p 90.

122 CAI/040, 7 November 1825, letter from Gerber to Beckley.

123 WMMS, 8 April 1834, Maer to Secretary.

124 *Missionary Register*, 1830, p 129.

125 *Missionary Register*, 1816, 10th Report of the African Institution, p 226.

126 *Missionary Register*, 1818, p 463.

127 CAI E7, 28 August 1818, MacCarthy.

128 *Missionary Register*, 1822, p 243-4.

129 *Missionary Register*, 1817, p 389.

130 *Missionary Register*, 1819, p 377.

131 CMS Report 1844-5, pp 34-35.

132 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1849-50, p lxiv.

133 *West African Reporter*, 19 December 1877, cited, C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 327.

134 WMMS 1889, 7 March 1843, Raston to Secretary.

135 WMMS 1843, 12 April 1819, Huddlestone's report.

136 WMMS 1888, 28 May 1842, Raston.

137 E Matei Markwei, 'The Rev C Knight in Methodist History - 1', *SLBR*, vol 9, no 1, 1967, pp 23-34, p 30.

138 *Methodist Magazine*, 1848, p 87.

139 Methodist report, 1847.

140 Paul Hair, 'An Analysis of the Register of Fourah Bay College', *SLS*, new series, no 7, December 1956, pp 155-160.

141 R R Elliot reported to the Connexion in London of the 5 schools and 3 Sunday schools that the Sierra Leone Connexion ran. Countess of Huntingdon, *New Magazine*, 1850, p 335.

142 *The Harbinger*, 1853, p 123.

143 *The Harbinger*, 1853, p 230.

144 C Fyfe, 'The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in Nineteenth Century Sierra Leone', *SLBR*, vol 4, no 2, December 1962, pp 53-60, p 59.

145 *Missionary Register*, 1820, p 472.

146 The lady of culture Johnson refers to was Hannah Kilham, a Quaker, who conducted a school for girls in the village of Charlotte and was involved in translation projects. C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, p 221. *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 22 February 1908, letter from Bishop Johnson.

147 *Ibid*, p 222.

148 A T Porter, see chapter 8, 'Processes of Social Mobility - Status: Religious Affiliation and Education', in *Creoldom*, London, 1963.

149 A H Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, London, 1854, p 207.

150 Townsend wrote back to Venn to express his discontent: I have a great doubt of young black clergymen. They want years of experience to give stability to their character. We would rather have them as schoolmasters and catechists. CAI/085, Townsend to Venn 21 Oct 1851.

151 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1854-55, p viii, statistical view of the Society's missions, 1 May 1855.

152 *Ibid*, p 30.

153 S A Crowther, *Journal of an expedition up the Niger and Tshadda rivers*, London, 1854, Seeley and Co., p xvi-xvii. An abbreviated account is also found in the *Proceedings*, 1854-55, p 56.

154 J B Elliot, *The Lady Huntingdon's Connexion in Sierra Leone*, London, 1851, p 19.

155 *The Harbinger*, 1852, p 27.

In 1852 two of the Sierra Leone Connexion, Scipio Wright and John Williams visited England with the purpose of receiving theological training and commissioning from the London Connexion. Unfortunately Williams, 'exhibited symptoms of depression of spirit which instead of being removed or diverted by application of study so far increased as to necessitate his being placed under restraint.' *The Harbinger*, 1853, p 242. Williams was admitted to an asylum where he died. Scipio Wright was placed under the care of J K Foster. He journeyed around speaking at various churches, often accompanied by the Rev George Fowler.

156 Charles Marke, *Wesleyan Methodism in Sierra Leone*, London, Charles H Kelly, 1913, p 74.

157 Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: its development in West Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries*, Faber and Faber Ltd, London, 1968.

158 CAI/0105, 10 November 1843, Graf's journal.

159 CO 267/189, Fergusson, 26 November 1845, cited, A T Porter, *op cit*, p 91.

160 C Fyfe, 'The Life and Times of John Ezzidio', *Eminent Sierra Leoneans in the 19th Century*, Freetown, pp 213-223.

161 *A Residence in Sierra Leone*, by a Lady, London, 1849, p 21.

162 CAI/036, 5 April 1849, Beale to Secretary.

163 Arthur T Porter, *op cit*.

164 Robert July, *op cit*, p 133.

165 F E Forbes, *Six Months in the African Blockade*, London, 1849, p 13.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Changing Face of Christianity in Sierra Leone

1. The Native Pastorate

In the light of the Niger Expedition with its toll on European lives, the financial situation of the CMS and the lack of personnel, the CMS recognised that they needed the assistance of a native agency in order to work constructively in West Africa. It was in this context that Henry Venn presented his ideas for self supporting, self governing churches to the Parent Committee of the CMS already anxious that the ministry of the "native congregations" be transferred to the Ecclesiastical Establishment leaving the CMS free to continue its mission to the Heathen.[1]

Henry Venn's ideas were to dominate the Church Missionary Society during his time as secretary and well beyond. Venn, the son of one of the Clapham men and the playmate of the little African children that Zachary Macaulay brought to Clapham, became honorary secretary of the Society in 1841.

It was Venn's goal to see the Society decreasing in regions where the church was growing and "native" church members increasing to take on the full responsibility for the witness of Christianity in their own countries. He believed that the breath of life in a Native Church depended on the church's ability to govern, support and extend itself. The "euthanasia of a mission", a phrase used by Venn as early as 1844, became his key phrase in policy making:

> Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native Church, under native pastors, upon self supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends on the training up and the location of native pastors, and that as it has been happily expressed, "the euthanasia of a mission" takes place when a missionary surrounded by well trained native congregations, under

> native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agents should be transferred to the "regions beyond".[2]

Venn's early policy was to see a self supporting "native pastorate" under the authority of the colonial Bishop. He produced a series of minutes explaining his policies and advocating the way ahead, the earliest a response to questions raised in 1848 over the role of native pastors within the CMS.[3] In order to achieve a "settled ecclesiastical system", Venn suggested that pastors should not be raised too far above those among whom they would be working. He saw the danger of creating pastors who were socially and culturally on a different stratum from those to whom they were ministering, and the danger of financial differences in dividing a community from its pastors. The community should be able to support adequately its pastors who would remain under European superintendence. His plans had one aim in mind; they were steps towards the time when the Missionary Society would withdraw and the "ecclesiastical authorities" would take over. The following year, after the appointment of Bishop Vidal to Sierra Leone, Venn drew up specific "Articles of Arrangement" proposing an independent "native" Church in Sierra Leone. The articles stated:

> that the charge and superintendence of the Native Pastors and Christian congregations which have been, or may hereafter be, raised up through the instrumentality of the Society's mission in Sierra Leone, be placed under the Bishop of Sierra Leone assisted by a council and a church Committee. And that arrangements be proposed for providing the native pastors with a suitable income from local resources, and also for giving them a status assimilated to that of incumbents at home.[4]

The Articles stipulated that a Council be established. The Bishop of Sierra Leone and the CMS were to elect one clergy and one lay member, the licensed native clergy were to elect one clergyman initially, (with the prospect of electing two later), and one layman, and this group had the responsibility of deciding when a church belonging to the Society should be "recognised as an ecclesiastical district". When this occurred a native pastor would be appointed. The advantage of the Council lay in the fact that superintendence of the native pastors was removed from the missionaries and

became the responsibility of the Bishop and his Council. A separate Church Committee was also formed which undertook responsibility for administering the Church Fund. This Committee was by appointment rather than recommendation, and in the hands of the Bishop and the CMS. The Articles did not affect the Societies' missionaries within the Colony; they were to continue as before, financed by the CMS. Venn's intention was to create a native church linked to the Crown through an episcopate which had its legal status within the ambit of Crown jurisdiction.[5] Ultimately he was unable to do so, and opted for the best compromise available:

> The Committee are fully aware that they cannot legally bind the Society, nor can the Bishop bind himself or his successors, but they enter into this arrangement with the bona fide purpose of preparing the native population in Sierra Leone, as far as it is in their power, for the establishing in that Colony of a genuine branch of the Church of England...[6]

The Articles were the first step towards granting self government. They examined the place of native pastors and they identified the different roles of the missionary and the pastor. It was these differences that were to be Venn's major reason for advocating the "euthanasia of missions".

i. The Role of Missionary and Pastor

Venn constructed a system, backed by a sufficient theological apologetic, whereby missionaries and the native church leaders could understand each others' roles and authority. To do this he drew a distinction between the two separate roles of missionary and native leader:

> the proper position of the missionary is one external to the church, and that the most important duty he has to discharge towards the church is the education and training of native pastors and evangelists.[7]

The missionary had a supervisory role, until the time emerged when the missionary could withdraw totally out of the situation and allow the native leaders to take complete control. Venn drew a distinction between:

> The office of a missionary who preaches to the heathen and instructs inquirers or recent converts, and the office of a pastor who ministers in holy things to a congregation of native Christians.[8]

It was to the pastor that the responsibility of witnessing the church growing and extending was given. If missionaries adopted the role of pastor then they were preventing the natural course of development; a self governing, self supporting, self propagating church would never be achieved. It was important, Venn concluded, that the pastor, while not being too highly raised above his countrymen, must "always be a little ahead of the civilisation of the people around him and by his example and influence lead that civilisation forward".[9] The pastor was no longer to be seen as a missionary assistant but as an independent curate under the Bishop.

It was necessary to train up a native ministry, as opposed to training Africans who developed as European missionaries in their "tastes and habits".[10] There remained the view that those trained within the British system were much better qualified than those trained in Sierra Leone. Venn, with the support and agreement of the Society, indicated that the outworking of his plans depended on the training and ordination of the native pastors occurring within Sierra Leone. While there remained the idea that European training was of a higher standard, equality among "native" pastors and missionaries could never exist. Later, when the native pastorate was in existence, Venn was to applaud the actions of two of the native pastors who resigned from their positions within the CMS and became ministers in churches belonging to the native pastorate:

> Their superior qualifications have acted beneficially upon the whole body of Native pastors.[11]

In a paper presented in 1861 Venn wrote:

> It is expedient that the native converts should be trained at as early a stage as possible upon a system of self government and of contributing to the support of their own native teachers.

It is expedient that the native teachers should be divided into two classes namely -

> Those who are employed as assistants to the missionary in his evangelistic work, and who are paid by the Society.
>
> Those who are employed in pastoral work amongst the Native Christians, who are to paid out of the Native Church Fund, whether Schoolmasters, Readers, Catechists, or ordained Pastors, as the case may be, so that they may be regarded as the ministerial agents of the Native Church, and not as the salaried agents of the Missionary Society.

It is expedient that the arrangements which may be made in the missions should from the first have reference to the ultimate settlement of the native Church upon the ecclesiastical basis of an indigenous episcopate, independent of foreign aid or superintendence.[12]

It was the second group in which lay Venn's greatest interest. He urged missionaries in 1860 to bear in mind that:

> A mission is only the scaffolding for the building of the spiritual temple of the native church.
>
> Native agency is the fit development of the native church.
>
> A native ministry is the crown of a native agency.[13]

It was in his 1861 paper that Venn gave the clearest analysis of the situation, and an outline of the steps to take towards the forming of a native church. As it was only when native pastors were free from European superintendence that the native church could become an independent church it was necessary that the native pastors were free from dependence on missionaries. In order that a native Church be formed Venn suggested that converts join together in what he called "Christian Companies". The next stage that Venn envisaged was that:

> One of each company should be selected, or approved of, by the missionary, as an elder, or "Christian Headman" to call together and preside over the companies, and to report to the missionary upon the moral and religious condition of his company, and upon the efforts made by the members for extending the knowledge of Christ's truth. Each Christian company should be encouraged to hold weekly meetings under its headman, with the occasional presence of the Missionary for united counsel and action for reading the Scriptures and prayer, and for making contributions to the Church fund - if it be only a handful of rice, or more, as God shall prosper them.[14]

It was in the Church Fund that Venn envisaged the real independence lying:

> The first step in the organisation of the Native Church will be taken when any company or one or more of the neighbouring companies unitedly, shall be formed into a congregation having a schoolmaster or native teacher located amongst them whose salary is paid out of the Native Church Fund. This step may be taken as soon as the company or companies so formed into a congregation contribute a fair amount, in the judgement of the Missionary, to the Church Fund.[15]

At this stage congregations would be able to form themselves into a native pastorate under an ordained "native" supported not by the Church Missionary Society but by the Native Church Fund.

ii. The Native Church Fund

Venn was convinced that it was only through the severance of economic ties that independence would occur. It was his ideal that each group of Christians would learn to support their "headman", and so eventually participate in the support of the whole Christian body:

> It is expedient that contributions should be made by the converts themselves, for their own christian instruction and for the schools for their children; and that for this purpose a Native Church Fund for an assigned missionary district should be established, into which the contributions should be paid.[16]

In order to ensure correct order, and aware of the delicate situation he was dealing Venn instructed that:

> As long as the Native Church Fund is under the management of the Missionary Society the native pastors, paid out of that fund must remain under the general superintendence of some missionary of the Society, who shall be at liberty to minister occasionally in their churches, and to preside jointly with the native pastors at the meetings of headmen and other congregational meetings, the relation between the native pastor and the missionary being somewhat analogous to that of the curates with a non resident incumbent.[17]

Venn recognised that without financial independence the native churches could never succeed to be self governing and self propagating. Money determined what happened and when it should happen. The companies that the villagers had formed themselves, both the companies formed among those from the same place of origin and those, such as the Benefit and Funeral Societies formed in connection with the church, had established the precedent of weekly contributions. From this contribution the members received the assurance of both protection and basic necessities if, for whatever reason, they were required. The commitment of all the members to one another and to the company was reinforced with this financial contribution. It was hoped that members of the churches would continue their giving for the support of others on a more national basis into the Native Fund.

iii. The Creation of the Native Pastorate

The test of Venn's ideas came as he pursued his plans for a native pastorate in Sierra Leone. The Articles, drawn up in 1852 by Venn and Bishop Vidal, ran into difficulties over Colonial Church legislation.[18] Unfortunately the delay saw the death of Bishop Vidal, Bishop Weeks and Bishop Bowen. It was not until the fourth Bishop, Dr Beckles, was settled in the diocese, in 1860, that moves were again made to constitute the native pastorate.[19] After ten years of drawing up plans, and encountering hesitation and objection from the Bishops, Venn finally saw his plans for Sierra Leone becoming a reality under Bishop Beckles. The scheme, Venn wrote to Beckles, should be commenced with only a few congregations which would form settled districts, i.e. they would be the responsibility of the native pastors.[20] Other "unsettled districts" would be under European supervision with an African clergy receiving a lower salary than those within the settled districts. This was to give the incentive towards self government.

On All Saints day 1861 "the great experiment of modern missions" began.[21] Nine native ministers in total, and the village schools, joined the scheme. All began to be

supported by the contributions of the Native churches assisted by a grant from the Society.[22]

Two churches remained under the CMS, Christ Church, Pademba Road, and Holy Trinity at Kissy Road. Venn's reasoning was that these two churches would provide an example of the standard of pastoral administration in the Mother Church.[23] The CMS also kept control of the Industrial school at Kissy and the three institutions of higher learning.[24]

The native pastorate was dogged with difficulties right from its commencement. Beckles wrote back to Venn complaining of the lack of support from the European clergy, "the good feeling that ought to exist between the two does not", he told Venn.[25] The nine parishes of Kissy, Wellington, Hastings, Regent, Gloucester, Bathurst, Kent, York, and Banana Islands were self governing and financing, but they were under constant stress from the European missionaries who found it difficult to delegate responsibility. While a separation between missionaries and the native pastors did develop, it was often a detrimental rather than a positive one. Even Beckles was horrified to discover that the pastors were dismissed from a general conference of the Society before the reports from the European missionaries were read.[26]

The Governor's reaction to the native pastorate was not favourable and Beckles was soon influenced by him. Venn overcame the discouragement of hearing the man who had engineered the plan in Sierra Leone say that he began to think the Governor was right.[27] Difficulties in discipline and control came to the fore. Beckles proposed that another order of Europeans be established, to act as district superintendents but the suggestion was rejected by Venn, who argued that if such a thing happened then the whole plan would fail.[28] What remained irreconcilable was the relationship between the missionaries and the African leaders, tensions that lay there fed numerous other tensions of distrust and doubt. Yates notes that Cheetham, the Bishop who followed Beckles, wrote that he was seen as the Bishop of two churches, the Church

of England in Sierra Leone and the African Church, though the two were really one.[29]

Cheetham recognised a fundamental fact that others had chosen to ignore. By the 1870s there were really two Anglican churches in Sierra Leone. The clergymen and the school teachers of the pastorate owed their allegiance to the pastorate, by whom they were paid - they were the African Church, but there was also the Bishop and those missionaries and African clergy appointed by the CMS who appeared as separate to the native pastorate. The problem of the apparent separation came with the attitude that the representatives of the "Church of England" had towards the African Church.

iv. A Native Bishop or a European Bishop?

As early as the 1850s Venn had anticipated the problems that Cheetham was facing. His long discussions on the role and relationship between pastors and missionaries had been grounded in an awareness that many of the missionaries of the CMS would be reluctant to see what they believed was their authority slip from under them. His fears were illustrated by the suggestion of reinstating Europeans. Venn abhorred the suggestion; it illustrated in a bitter and frustrating way the great gulf between his ideas and those of his missionaries. The implementation of such a scheme would only segregate the Church in Sierra Leone even further. Venn's relationship with Samuel Crowther and his refusal to appoint Crowther as Bishop of Sierra Leone can only be understood in the context of the relationship between missionaries and native pastors in Sierra Leone.

After the death of Bishop Vidal there was pressure to appoint Crowther as Bishop of Sierra Leone.[30]

Venn refused to consider Crowther for the position of Bishop of Sierra Leone. He wrote of his decision:

> Before Bishop Bowen was appointed to Sierra Leone the Secretary of State had determined to recommend Mr Crowther as Bishop of Sierra Leone and the late Archbishop was strongly in favour of it. I objected on the ground that it was too much an English Colony and it was with difficulty that I could stop the nomination.[31]

Venn's decision raises questions. Venn justified his decisions by pointing out that Crowther did not want the position, indeed that he had strongly indicated his opinion against it; and that Crowther was most efficiently employed on the Niger in his very effective mission work. No true friend of missions, Venn believed, would wish to see Crowther removed from the Niger and placed in the less congenial and inferior office of the Sierra Leone bishopric. It was Crowther's wish to remain doing what he loved, translating the scriptures into his, and other, native languages.[32]

By consecrating Crowther as Bishop of Sierra Leone Venn would have tied him to a work that involved being bound by the "rubrics and Canons adapted only to the realm of England".[33] While Venn wished for a "native" Bishop, it was for a "native" Bishop as head of a "native" church. The Bishop was the proof that a church was fully functioning in a proper ecclesiastical order. The church in Sierra Leone was too much an English Church; it was not "native" in the sense that Venn envisaged the church of the Yoruba or Niger Delta to be. There were too many Europeans involved in the Church in Sierra Leone to allow it ever to become a "native" church.

Venn was also aware that neither the colonial church in Sierra Leone, nor the Government there, would have totally accepted Crowther as head of the Church. Crowther would not have been Bishop of a "native" church, and it did not seem appropriate to Venn that there should be two Bishops in Sierra Leone, a Bishop of the colonial church and a Bishop of the native pastorate.[34] Crowther also had suggested that it was not appropriate for a native clergyman to take up such a position. What was more appropriate, and what a native clergyman should aspire to was that of:

> a bishop over a native church, at liberty to lay the foundations of an African Episcopal Church, according to the requirements of Africa, without being tied to the Rubrics and Canons adopted only to the realm of England.[35]

The decision to appoint Samuel Crowther to the position of "Bishop of the territories of West Africa beyond the Queen's Dominions" in June 1864 was both a follow through of one of Venn's most fundamental policies, and a divergence from his position on the place and function of a Bishop. Crowther was appointed under the Jerusalem Act, thus in fact making him a missionary Bishop, though not in the technical High Church sense of a Bishop who is appointed at the commencement of missionary work in order to oversee it.

Venn had earlier adamantly rejected the proposals made by Samuel Wilberforce that a "missionary Bishop" should be appointed at the beginning of missionary operations. Venn argued on the basis of the significance of the lay temporal role of the CMS. In a letter dated 18 December 1838 Venn drew a clear distinction between the temporal and spiritual functions laid down in ecclesiastical law. He insisted that the CMS was an institution for carrying out all "the temporal and lay offices necessary for the preaching of the gospel among the Heathen. In this sense it is a lay institution and as a society exercises no spiritual or ecclesiastical functions". It was the Bishop of London who ordained all missionaries and who sent them forth:

> The Society acts only as a lay patron selecting the stations and engaging to pay the salary. In the case of other clergy men joining the society their letters of orders are their mission.[36]

The Bishop of London exercised the "spiritual" control over the activities of the society. Within the structure established for the native pastorate church the Bishop still exercised this authority and rule, though in a purely notional way.

Venn objected to the idea of a missionary Bishop, convinced rather that Bishops should follow, rather than precede mission. The Society was a lay society. It was not against the extension of colonial episcopates as the Bishops would be under the

authority of the laws and constitution of the Church. A missionary Bishop, on the other hand would not be subject to the particular laws of the Church, indeed there were no laws to which a missionary Bishop would be subject. Venn's greatest objection to the question of a missionary Bishop was in its relation to European superintendence. A Bishop would make the superintendence permanent. Superintendence, Venn argued, should come from a native Bishop.

Crowther was appointed not as "Bishop of Abeokuta", an appointment that would have been in full keeping with Venn's policy of a native Bishop following a mission, but as "Bishop of the territories of West Africa beyond the Queen's Dominions". The lack of precision in his diocese reflected a lack of precision in his task. Crowther, graciously reluctant to find himself in a position of superintendence of Europeans, was told that he would not be placed in such a situation, without the missionaries first choosing it.

Venn expressed his feelings in a letter to the European missionaries with whom Crowther would be dealing:

> I do not hesitate to say that in all my large experience I never met with more missionary wisdom nor - I write advisedly - more of the Spirit of Christ than in him. Here I felt to him as much drawing and knitting of the soul as to my own brother. Be you a brother to Bishop Crowther. You will be abundantly repaid. God destines him for a great work.[37]

Crowther was not unaware of the tensions that led Venn to plead with the European missionaries to deal respectfully with him. Crowther, working in Yorubaland, and on the Niger, had led a mission force, consisting entirely of Africans, up river among the Hausa and Nupe people. Venn had authorised him with full control:

> The Committee fully concur in your suggestion that the Niger Mission is to be regarded as an extension of the Yoruba Mission. It may ultimately be placed under the Yoruba Committee but as long as you remain in the Niger you are invested with sole authority to act and make all pecuniary and other arrangements.[38]

Missionaries in Abeokuta responsible for the Yoruba Mission were unsettled. Townsend, hearing rumours and fearing that Crowther was to be appointed Bishop of Abeokuta, drew up a petition indicating that the appointment of an African Bishop was not advisable. Black men, he argued, were not respected in their own countries, it was the way things were and, he hinted, the way things were ordained to be:

> There is one other view that we must not lose sight of, viz, that as the negro feels a great respect for a white man, that God kindly gives a great talent to the white man in trust to be used for the negro's good. Shall we shift the responsibility? Can we do it without sin?[39]

There is little doubt that Townsend, and with him the other missionaries based on the Yoruba Mission upon whom he had a very clear influence, felt insecure at the prospect of a black leader. There was also the issue of personal jealousy and competition, particularly when Townsend felt that a reward for his sacrifices was long overdue. Letters passed between London and Abeokuta discussing the future prospects.[40] Venn recognised that the CMS missionaries would have refused to accept Crowther as Bishop of Lagos or Abeokuta. His appointment as "Bishop to the territories of West Africa beyond the Queen's Dominions" presented Crowther with an area split through with pockets of European missionary control. Despite their opposition Crowther never criticised the work of the mission that had been so responsible in encouraging the development of Christianity in Sierra Leone and further afield. He wrote:

> Our country is greatly improved and benefited by the labours of the servants of the CMS. The private feeling of many individuals with whom we are conversant, as well as the great stir which is seen amongst the liberated africans at present who seem to be awakened from their foolishness and superstitions to serve God, greatly stress that they are becoming another people.[41]

The native pastorate in Sierra Leone was caught between being tied to the rubrics and Canons of the Church of England and aspiring to become, if not in name at least in principle, an African Episcopal Church. It was, in effect, an impossible aspiration. The Church of England in Sierra Leone was grounded firmly in St George's Cathedral

and in the attitudes of numerous missionaries who could never accept the right of an African to be a leader over them. It was this that James Johnson recognised and criticised in a searing commentary on the Bishop and missionaries in the newspaper publication, *The Negro*. He wanted to see an independent church, claiming that "the Church of England is not our Church".[42]

v. James Johnson and the Native Pastorate in Sierra Leone and Lagos

James Johnson, born in Sierra Leone of recaptive parents, had attended the CMS school and Fourah Bay College. He was influenced by Edward Blyden, the West Indian, "Father of West African Nationalism".[43] Blyden transferred from the service of the American Presbyterian Mission in Liberia to that of the CMS in July 1871. He was employed as a linguist whose desire was to train a few native teachers in Arabic who might labour among the Mohamedans in the interior of Africa.[44] He was responsible for parenting the nascent ideas of nationalism through the publication of his newspaper, *The Negro*, which Johnson edited.

Johnson looked upon the native pastorate as an institution which would provide a training ground for Africans in the lessons of self government; it was also a training ground for an independent Africa. He wrote:

> The desire to have an independent church closely follows the knowledge that we are a distinct race, existing under peculiar circumstances and possessing peculiar characteristics, the desire to preserve this distinction uninjured, the conviction that it would materially contribute to give a purely native character and power to our religious profession, and that the arrangements of foreign Churches made to suit their own local circumstances can hardly be expected to suit our own in all their details.[45]

The native pastorate, Johnson believed, was only the commencement of a great African church where Africans, rather than Europeans, would be in control. When the native pastorate was approached regarding Johnson's proposals their spokesman, James Quaker, strongly disassociated the pastorate from the opinions of Johnson. The pastorate, Quaker urged:

> could not for a moment anticipate a time - such an event they most cordially deprecate - when there would be a breach of communion between it and the Church of England - when the orthodox doctrines and the Evangelical teachings of the Mother Church, so absolutely essential to its permanent stability, would be abandoned as a "worn out vestment".[46]

Despite James Quaker's strong opposition to Johnson's views the CMS in England were convinced that he was the man to carry out the Society's work in Lagos:

> to strengthen the Native Church there as an important step in the direction of calling out and guiding aright the activity and energy of the Lagos Church.[47]

Henry Wright, the new honorary secretary of the CMS, invited Johnson to come to England in order for the Society to discuss the prospects of the native pastorate, and hear James Johnson's views in person. It was in Britain, Ayandele pointed out, that "he learned to make a distinction between the missionaries in West Africa and the Society in Britain".[48]

Johnson was appointed as superintendent of the church at Breadfruit in Lagos. This church, the creation and special child of the missionaries had, until Johnson's appointment, always been controlled by Europeans. However there was growing opposition and criticism of the European missionaries from a strong African nationalist party within the Church. The Society for the Promotion of Religion and Education in Lagos had been formed in 1873 to assume all responsibility for missionary and educational work in Lagos. Their aim was to render the European missionaries redundant so that the CMS might withdraw them.[49]

The CMS saw that the only practical way to contain the nationalist energies of the African members was to introduce a native pastorate. The pastorate was founded in 1875, though it was not until 1881 that Breadfruit Church was added. Nevertheless Johnson became, "the pastorate's leader and inspirer, and his Church its financial backbone."[50] By 1889 all except one church in Lagos belonged to the pastorate. The Lagos pastorate's success lay in its independence from the Government. There was

a move towards self government right from the very beginning, the pastorate saw itself as a challenge to European authority, not as complementary to it. Johnson believed that the pastorate would grow more and more "native", rejecting the hymns, the rites and ceremonies, and the governing decrees, that were foreign and substituting native ones. "To promote this native character in our Christianity is one of the objects of (our) Pastorate Institution."[51]

The appointment of Johnson to Lagos indicated the Society's desire to carry through the objectives of Venn, despite the missionary opposition on the West Coast of Africa. Their proposals were a vindication of all that Venn had stood for and a clear lesson to Sierra Leone that they believed that the Native Pastorate Institution was the way ahead for the churches in Africa. The Lagos pastorate was to be modelled on Sierra Leone, but it was hoped that the Sierra Leone pastorate would gain strength and encouragement from its sister to enable it to continue. The Society recognised the difficulty that European missionaries had with the idea of independence; their appointment of Johnson illustrated that they did not approve of the missionaries' attitudes. The Society recognised the power behind the nationalistic movement in Lagos, and in an indirect way they gave their support to it by appointing the one person they knew would draw together the nationalistic sentiments for the forwarding of the Church. The Society's support and encouragement of Johnson stood in direct contrast to the attitude of the Bishop and European missionaries in Sierra Leone. In appreciating their contempt of Johnson and what he represented, it is possible to begin to understand some of the reasons why the native pastorate in Sierra Leone failed to achieve its ideal.

vi. The Native Pastorate - Success or Failure?

Venn's dream of a self sufficient church failed to take into account two very fundamental things. First, there already were self governing, self sufficient African churches in Sierra Leone, albeit not Anglican churches; and second, Europeans refused to be subordinated under black rule. The two went hand in hand; the refusal to

recognise what was already there in Sierra Leone reflected the instinctively superior attitude that the Europeans, in many cases unconsciously, held, that the prescription of the forms of Christianity was their prerogative. It was their right to give it as a gift to others.

The proposed vote of £300 a year to create a European superintendence over the pastorate was in effect a vote of no confidence in the scheme. The Governor believed, and convinced Bishop Beckles in May 1864, that Africans lacked judgment. He was prepared to support the scheme if it included European superintendence. Venn's terse reply was that no circumstances could be conceived under which Europeans should assume a supervisory role. From that point onwards, even though the possibility of European supervision was ruled out, the idea that it was needed remained and influenced missionary actions.

The question must be asked, could the native pastorate plan have really succeeded in Sierra Leone? The criticism that the plan was a premature venture, ahead of its time and therefore bound to failure was not the impression that the Sierra Leone Christians had of the whole strategy. The native pastorate was never totally financially viable, the central fund never really provided sufficient funds to support the pastors and an auxiliary missionary society. The difficulty lay in the fact that some of the wealthiest churches in Freetown, St Georges's Cathedral, and Christ Church, Pademba Road, were outside the native pastorate. In spite of extremely generous donations from the members, the native pastorate always depended on the CMS for some funding. An annual grant of £500 was given by the Government under the Governor Samuel Wensley Blackall who accepted the position as President of the pastorate.[52]

Africanus Horton writing on the native pastorate in his influential work, *West African Countries and People*, a vindication of the African race noted:

> The Native Pastorate has unfortunately been placed in a most difficult condition by its parental head, and it excites the wonder and admiration of everyone who studies its working how it has been able to exist. It is most

> likely that the parent committee had the idea that the pastorate would begin under hard and trying difficulties, so that when a greater laxity of privileges should be granted, the whole system would go on with ease and success. At present, with the exception of Kissy and Regent parishes, all the most flourishing churches are under supervision of the parent committee, and are not individual in pastorate, it has no representative church in Freetown under the immediate control of the bishop of the diocese, and as the whole of the wealth of Sierra Leone is at Freetown it is a great drawback to its financial success.[53]

Venn's ideas were the ideas of many of the early missionaries who went to Sierra Leone. Men like W A B Johnson, who organised and encouraged native participation with the view to African leadership, would have been happy to espouse Venn's ideas. Indeed they saw ample proof that a native church could and would succeed as they witnessed the growth of the Methodist and Countess of Huntingdon Churches and heard the tales of the early pioneer Christians in the colony joining together to worship in the face of great odds.

The Sierra Leone churches were ready for the native pastorate structure long before the middle of the century. Influenced by, and indeed helped by those early European missionaries, they had worked towards such a creation, though never presenting it into such a set system as Venn did. But the cry of the whiteman captured their imagination, and the gains of Britain their minds, in such a manner that by the 1850s - 1860s two forces were at work. On the surface the adoption of British standards of education, and industry, seemed to go hand in hand with nascent ideas on independence, but beneath the surface the two were very separate. The new educated elite represented the best of what Britain could offer Africa. They were Sierra Leoneans with the ability to administer their country in all major fields of civilisation - law, medicine, education, commerce, industry. The obvious progression from the stage of having an educated elite, was to have an educated elite in government. Men like Africanus Horton, Edward Blyden and James Johnson, Samuel Lewis, and Ezzidio all advocated this progression.

The native pastorate might have succeeded if the apparent union of British standards with nascent ideas of independence had been sustained, but it was not. Gradually,

with problems arising over the issue of money and authority, the two paths were highlighted as going in different directions. Divisions were most obvious between the two parties in the churches - the parties which had caused Beckles and Cheetham to complain that in Sierra Leone they supervised two sets of clergy.[54] An "Africa for the Africans" party developed in the 1870s as African self consciousness took off with new force. Those who tried to bring them together performed a difficult exercise. Men like John Ezzidio, the first Liberated African to serve on the legislative council, lived in a world that was really that of the black Englishman, and yet the reasons behind his support for the government's grant to the native pastorate lay in his Christian commitment and his understanding that Christianity was his by right and therefore the right of all his countrymen.[55] An ardent Methodist, he ignored the denominational differences that came to play such an important part in the colony, offering his support to that which he saw as having much greater importance - the ideal of the African in his own church.

The native pastorate, and more particularly the attitude towards Bishop Crowther, demonstrated what many of the Sierra Leone Christians, both in the country and working on the Yoruba and Niger missions, had already sensed. The Europeans were reluctant to give up what they had started, and were unhappy about placing total responsibility in the hands of African pastors and missionaries. The issue was one of trust and respect. Beckles' desire to appoint European district superintendents, the attitude of Townsend, Gollmer, and Hinderer towards the appointment of Crowther, were only small indications of what was to come. Crowther may have been sensitive to the Europeans:

> as a man I know something of the feelings of man. Perhaps my own corrupt man would be touched to a certain degree, if, for instance, a native convert of our mission here was made a minister over me, and I remain still a catechist, if it had been so that I came from another country to aid this country in teaching Christianity, and I have to remain in the same country so many years to benefit it with the doctrine of the religion which I jeoparded my life to teach him.[56]

Those who followed in Crowther's footsteps were less sympathetic than Crowther to this fundamental problem of the Europeans.

Crowther and Johnson's appointments did not change the attitude of many of the missionaries in West Africa and as the history of missions entered the period of a new evangelical thrust tied up with a searing distaste for materialism and a contemptuous attitude to Christian civilisation as a formula rather than a conviction, the situation for those who heralded Venn's policies as their right to freedom deteriorated. Their attitude can be summed up in a passion for the Cross and a belief expressed by a contemporary Methodist missionary that:

> They [the native pastors] should always take a subordinate position to European agents and whilst always allowed to vote on all matters pertaining to their local funds and to their brethren, they should not be allowed (as hitherto) to vote on matters pertaining to Europeans either as to their examination or as to the distribution of funds strictly European.[57]

The reality of the church that would "differ much from us" led not to satisfaction but to fear that the missionary had failed to preach the gospel properly and in failing that had failed in his Christian life. Differences were not seen as signs of the rich diversity of the Christian church so much as of signs of wasted years, unnecessary sufferings and needless deaths.

2. The Methodist Churches

The formation of the native pastorate affected the Wesleyan Methodist Society in Sierra Leone, as did the consequent problems that the native pastorate faced in its struggle to meet its goal. While, in theory at least, the CMS originated churches in the Colony were breaking their dependency on their parent body, and establishing an Anglican ecclesiastical structure, the various groups bearing the name of Methodist were becoming more dependent on their sister churches in Britain. The rebellious spirit that had characterised the early Nova Scotian Methodists declined as the years went by. The determination that slammed the door on the early chaplains, that

rejected William Davies because he appeared as a Government man, that ousted Huddlestone and Lane, and that inspired O'Connor to walk out of Rawdon Street leading the whole recaptive membership with him, was no longer so apparent. But Nova Scotian Methodism had left its mark on the religious life of the Colony. Jewett and Stober, earnestly carrying out their God given task, had influenced many recaptives - consider the number that joined the West African Methodist Society.

Many recaptives experienced the power of God in a manner common among believers in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth, and early nineteenth century. The experiences of "full salvation" that came to be so significant in Methodist circles in the 1840s bear similarities to experiences recorded in Nova Scotia, in Freetown, and in villages such as Regent.

The settlers brought their particular understanding of the Methodist doctrines, influenced by the theology of that New Light apostle Henry Alline. Their Methodist traditions enabled them to stand firm in the midst of great trauma, and succeed. Nova Scotian wealth, and prestige was a powerful indicator of the success of Nova Scotian religion. The number of Methodists in the various classes and societies throughout the Colony was proof that Nova Scotian Methodism was attractive. Yet in the midst of the success the shadows of defeat appeared to creep into the history of the Methodists in Sierra Leone. The independence of action that was so fundamental to Nova Scotian Methodism gradually disappeared as time took its toll on the Nova Scotian pioneers.

When Anthony O'Connor died in 1855 the West African Methodist Church that he had been responsible for, declined.[58] Despite a concerted effort by the various recaptive groups there simply was not the authority to dominate and draw the churches together. John Shepherd, one of O'Connor's preachers, took over as superintendent. When in 1858 some of the leaders came in contact with the European Huntingdonian minister, one of the few white Huntingdonians ever to have come to Sierra Leone, they inquired of him what their best course of action should be. He

advised that they write to the United Methodist Free Churches in England, which were unconnected with the Wesleyan Conference. This they did and the following year they were amalgamated with the United Methodist Free Churches. A new minister, the Reverend Joseph New, was sent out.[59]

The Rawdon Street congregation was unable to support itself and in 1860 appealed to Charles Knight, the recently appointed Superintendent of the Freetown Circuit, for assistance. It was almost ironic that Knight should have been responsible for bringing the wanderers back to the fold when the missionaries had feared that he and Wright would be the ones to desert to the O'Connor party. Knight insisted that the chapel should become the property of the Wesleyan Methodists. The decision was finally made on 1 July 1861, by the trustees of the chapel and local preachers.[60] Almost all of the ten who came to the decision were African, and it was a decision made by both Nova Scotian descendants and recaptives together. There were still a few who refused to have anything to do with it and justified their refusal as of God when the church was struck by a thunderstorm and destroyed.[61]

A new chapel was proposed by Knight as compensation to the dehoused old settlers and Ezzidio, a member of the Legislative Council and one of the leading Methodists in the Colony, took it upon himself to raise much of the money needed. He managed to persuade some of his English business colleagues to give money towards the building of a chapel. Ezzidio's work impressed the mission in England. Writing to them often on his St George's headed note paper, he epitomised the spirit of dedication and ecumenism in an acceptable manner. But Ezzidio, with his many commitments not only to the Society but also to the daily running of the Colony, was unable to dedicate sufficient time to ensuring that the Wesleyan Methodist Society progressed. Ezzidio took an action which had unfortunate long term repercussions. Aware that the Society needed a full time superintendent rather than being left to a number of African laymen to organise, Ezzidio wrote to the Secretary in London asking for a British superintendent.[62]

As Christopher Fyfe has noted, the Methodist church in Sierra Leone, was all that Benjamin Tregaskis, the man whom the Society in London sent out on Ezzidio's request, opposed.[63] Tregaskis' determination in removing all that he saw as sinful created a situation of unparalleled exclusivism within the history of the Methodist Church in Sierra Leone.

The Methodist leaders within the Colony, wrote to London with various complaints, but little was done. Tregaskis, with his thirty years service to the Society in the West Indies, was in a privileged position within the Society. All those who did not pay their class ticket money were expelled, as were those who were responsible for gross immorality, the procuring and use of spirituous liquor, and those who participated in the "pagan customs" of "bondo" and "poro".[64] One of the African ministers wrote to London that Tregaskis had gone head over heels on his new "Novel plan of suspending at once from membership on ticket visitation days."[65]

Tregaskis recognised the monopoly that the CMS Grammar School held in Freetown and he launched a plan to found a Wesleyan Secondary School. Supporting this move Samuel Lewis' half brother, the Rev D W Thorpe, wrote to the parent committee begging them to send someone out for the school, "a man capable of standing up with anyone the church folks may have".[66] Tregaskis recognised the potential that there was in having a few well trained Africans imbued with denominational zeal. He arranged for a young African, J C May, to train in England.[67]

Tregaskis objected to the relationship that many of the Methodists had with the CMS and the native pastorate. Staunchly Nonconformist and bitter against the many privileges of the Established Church in Britain, Tregaskis refused to allow members of his society to support similar privileges in Sierra Leone. Unable to do anything in England about what he saw as the injustices of the religious system, he recognised that in Freetown he could play his part in the centuries old battle. He persuaded William Lewis, the father of Samuel Lewis, to cease contributing to funds for the native pastorate. The generous giving to the pastorate and the legal support that it received

from the Legislative Council were adamantly opposed by Tregaskis.[68] His opposition to the grant instilled a spirit of dissension into Freetown life - he undermined the African ability to organise and control, and he destroyed the potential for a growing relationship between all the Christians in the Colony. In August 1872 Tregaskis achieved what he regarded as one of his great political triumphs - he persuaded the Governor Hennessy to repeal the House and Land Tax, which Tregaskis detested, since part of its revenue supported the native pastorate.[69]

In his hatred of all things Anglican, Tregaskis vented his feelings on the one whom he saw as representing compromise, and demonstrating unacceptable behaviour for a Methodist. Ezzidio, as a member of the Legislative Council, was shunned by Tregaskis for his and the Council's response to the native pastorate. It is ironic how time changed and reversed the situation of religious and political control. Davies, that early Welsh Methodist, was rejected because of his interdenominational activities, and his association with the Governing body. The early Methodists with their Nova Scotian religious sentiments rejected a man who was prepared to give allegiance to the controlling authorities which, they believed, represented injustice and subjection. The Nova Scotians declined, the recaptives absorbed teaching, developed as a political force, took over the position of role models in the middle years of the century and associated themselves with a government they no longer felt oppressed by. It was not they who rejected the missionary who came to offer help but in the end the missionary who rejected many of them for very similar reasons to those his colleague of early days had experienced. Perhaps this in itself is an indication of the nature of the story of the origins and forms of Christianity in the Colony of Sierra Leone.

3. The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion

In 1860, while plans were underfoot for the instigation of the native pastorate, George Mozely, the teacher in charge of the Countess of Huntingdon Training Institute, expressed his Society's conviction when he wrote:

> We believe the time has not yet arrived when European missionaries can be dispensed with in Sierra Leone, it is to be feared there will yet be more martyrs for God before work is completed.
>
> It is my firm conviction that if our Churches had been supported as other churches have been, they would not only have been the oldest but the largest church in the Colony.[70]

In 1862 the Zion congregation met and resolved and carried unanimously, "That it is the decided conviction of this conference that unless a European minister is appointed over the churches the Connexion will soon come to nothing."[71] Various appeals were made. A H Brown, the secretary of the Connexion, wrote to Trotter, now based in England, on behalf of the district meeting:

> Oh, our dear Pastor, do come once more to your poor African children, we are all hungry to see you! You well know how you kept us like the other societies when you were here, and how the Governor, the Bishop, the Secretary, the Queen's Advocate then came to help us. But now we cannot go forward like the other churches.[72]

Trotter arrived back to Sierra Leone in 1862. In a lightning tour he visited all the old churches attempting to encourage them. What he found was discouraging. In Waterloo the people turned out to welcome him singing a hymn, the words of which captured their disillusionment:

> And are we yet alive
> To see each other's face
> Glory and praise to Jesus give
> For his redeeming love
>
> What troubles here we see
> What conflicts have we past
> Fightings without and fears within
> Since we assembled last.[73]

Waterloo had experienced some quite serious difficulties over church order, and particular difficulties over finance. Trotter was pulled in to solve a palaver relating to funds, and a misunderstanding that had arisen between Aku and Igbo people resident at Waterloo.

Trotter called a District Society meeting, to discuss some of the urgent issues of the Connexion. They were summed up by R R Elliot, the son of Anthony Elliot:

> unless a European minister be settled in the colony the Connexion will fall to the ground.
>
> How much money can be raised in our colonial churches towards his support?
>
> If the Connexion in England cannot make up the other part of the amount required for the support of the resident European minister what is the next step to be taken?[74]

A report was drawn up on the financial state of the churches and the amount that each could afford to donate to the upkeep of missionaries[75]:

Freetown:	£90.00
Waterloo:	£10.00
Goderich:	£ 1.00
Rokelle:	£ 1.00
Hastings:	£ 1.00
Tombo:	£ 1.00

The record reveals something of the economics of church life in Freetown and the surrounding villages. The problem that the native pastorate faced with having almost all of its support coming from the villages is well illustrated in this account. Zion Church, with its eighty members could produce £90 while Waterloo, by far the largest of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion gatherings, could only offer £10 and the other villages £1 each.

After Trotter left the church was faced with the continuing problem of church leadership, with very few ordained ministers available. R R Elliot was appointed to a Government position as Manager of the Western District of the Colony and Samuel Priddy, the one time missionary in the Sherbro, became the recognised leader in Freetown. Priddy continued to report to England on the state of the Connexion, particularly on the missions and the churches at Yongroo and Bumpe. Priddy died a few years later and Job Niger took over his mantle for a short while until he too died. Samuel Williams was next in line, a man who had attended both Fowler and

Trotter during their times in the Colony. Fyfe notes that Williams went over to Tunbridge Wells to be ordained in 1877 but on his return the congregation at Zion refused to accept his leadership. Williams took charge of Waterloo making it the centre of the Lady Huntingdon Connexion in Sierra Leone.[76]

The Church survived until, facing economic and ministerial problems, they finally accepted the offer made from the African Methodist Episcopal Church and joined ranks. J B Elliot, nearing his end, decided that this would be the best course of action and in 1887 the trustees transferred the church. An African West Indian Pastor was appointed, Dr J R Frederick. The Spa Congregation, the breakaway Huntingdon church, kept separate from its mother church.[77] In 1886 the Spa Fields church joined the Wesleyan Mission, and the Nova Scotian Countess of Huntingdon Connexion ceased to survive as a separate entity after ninety four years in the Colony.[78]

The Methodist Societies and the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion had expressed their wish for a European minister, and both Churches had received missionaries who changed policies and introduced British patterns of worship and policy.

4. The Baptist Churches

The Baptist Church remained the most independent of all the Nova Scotian denominations to arrive in the Colony. In 1853 American missionaries from the Southern Baptist Convention visited Freetown and ordained four descendants of the Nova Scotian settlers to care for the Baptist congregations. These men J J Brown, Isaac and George Weeks and Henry Prigg Thompson, the son of a European and a Nova Scotian woman, had responsibility for the Rawdon Street Church. Thompson went to Waterloo to take charge of a Baptist congregation that had been run by a Methodist teacher. In 1866 after the death of Thompson this congregation changed hands once again and joined the native pastorate.[79] When John McCormack, an Irish trader died in 1865 he left a sum of money to the Church of God. This Church which he had been a member of met regularly in his house on the corner of Rawdon

Street and Oxford Street. It was a Free Will Baptist Church, a breakaway from the first Nova Scotian Baptist Church. The money was to be used to build new premises on Regent Road.[80] The Church also received an endowment of £3,000 left by an English friend of McCormack. An Igbo Baptist Church, formed by an Igbo William Jenkins also worshipped at Rawdon Street. It was the first church of an ethnic group in Freetown, among its members was the notable Abraham Potts. The Igbo Church eventually joined the Church of God.[81] The remaining Baptist Church at Rawdon Street struggled to remain independent throughout the century, but unable to gain sufficient membership and finances (the Southern Baptists appeared to have ceased paying the pastors' salaries after Thompson died) also joined this Church of God.[82]

5. The Changes in Sierra Leone

The native pastorate provided an example of the importance of leadership from within the churches rather than from Britain. But the tensions that the native pastorate faced, and the established pattern of European control going hand in hand with European money, meant that when the opportunity was greatest for self control, attempts were made to ask for outside assistance. The comments, made by Beale's congregation on the proposal for a native ministry in 1846, reflect a spirit of dependence that all churches were familiar with at one point or another throughout the century:

> I told several that the society intended by and by to withdraw the missionaries and send them to preach in other countries leaving the Christians in Sierra Leone with a native ministry. Of that they expressed their horror one and all saying that the society might do as they liked about other matters making them pay coppers but taking the missionaries away they could not allow for a moment.[83]

The situation in Sierra Leone was influenced by political opinion in Britain during the 1860s. Attitudes were emerging which, while not new, had never before received such public acclaim as they did during these years. A number of factors combined to give rise to the antipathy toward Africans and the West African Colonies. Not least among

them were the numerous travel journals, and aspiring anthropological works on Africa. This new discipline was hailed as a science, and articulated using pseudo scientific theories. Knox's work on the development of the races was added to by men like Sir Richard Burton and Winwoode Reade with their much inferior publications concerning their wanderings in West Africa among savage Africans. Winwoode Reade journeyed to the Congo in 1861 and on his return published *Savage Africa* in 1864 which contained sketches of Freetown. It was a sarcastic work ridiculing the attempts to bring civilisation to the Colony. Reade believed that Christian missions were ineffective, it was to Islam that Africa should look in order to rise out of the darkness. His long term prognosis of Africa was that the people would die out in the process of natural selection.[84] In 1861 Burton passed through Freetown and produced an account of Freetown life that was negative and cruel.[85]

The Anthropological Society of London was founded in 1863 to further exhibit the "impoverished state of the negro in body and soul". A series of lectures from the German, Carl Vogt, of the University of Genoa, were published stating that mankind was imprisoned in unalterable categories of race. The racial characteristics were moral as well as physical, he claimed, and so dark races were irrevocably inferior to the light races.[86] Hargreaves notes that while the British were still keen to develop the commercial interests that West Africa offered, they were "becoming disenchanted about the prospects of exporting their civilisation".[87] The Indian mutiny of 1857 indicated that the ancient cultures of the East were much more intransigent to British culture than the British had supposed. The Ashantee war and the inefficient organisation that resulted in loss of British life with no substantial decisions made and no treaty signed was brought to the attention of Parliament. The war of 1863-4 had been sparked off by Governor Richard Pine's refusal to return a slave accused of criminal activity to Kumasi. The Ashantee invaded what the British had unofficially referred to as their protectorate. There had been increasing tension with the Ashantee. Some regarded them as a cruel and barbarous nation whose power should be eradicated while others recognised a potential hope for the future with the Ashantee bringing peace and order and providing a viable commercial market.[88] A proposal was made to Parliament that

the "wasteful and mischievous policy of sentimental colonisation in West Africa" should come to an end and a Select Committee be established to herald the end of unwarranted meddling.[89]

A Select Committee was established in 1865 to determine whether the West African Colonies furthered or obstructed British Policy, and whether the financial commitment that the Colonial Office was making was indeed excessive. The Committee unleashed a cry of opinions on the waste of money, and waste of life, on whether the Colony effectively promoted trade and civilisation and functioned as a deterrent to the slave trade. But for those who opposed the Colony there were a group of loyal supporters anxious that Britain did not abandon her interests in West Africa, and there was what Hargreaves refers to as the "residual zeal of the anti-slavery zealots".[90] The Committee reported in June 1865, many demonstrating their own prejudices against West Africa. As Fyfe points out, "only Sir Francis Baring tried to elicit evidence that the Colony had succeeded in the missionary task of turning the recaptives into a prosperous community of educated Christians".[91]

Horton's *West African Countries and Peoples*, subtitled "A vindication of the African Race" captured the spirit of the day.[92] Horton felt that Africa and Africans needed to be vindicated from the rumours and stories and published papers concerning supposed African inferiority. The proof of his own argument lay both in the content of the book and in the colour of the author. Horton, the son of a recaptive, had been educated at the CMS Grammar School and Fourah Bay College before travelling to Britain where he studied medicine at King's College, London, and at the University of Edinburgh. Horton showed in his book that the 19th century Sierra Leonean was as articulate, as intelligent, as socially aware and responsive to education as his European counterpart, and through that education would come the civilisation of Africa. He argued that there was no scientific evidence of physiological and mental differences based on race; he recognised that the proudest kingdoms of the world were once in a state of barbarism; and he was convinced that the progressive pattern of history would ensure that for the countries of West Africa:

> in the process of time their turn will come when they will occupy a prominent position in the world's history and when they will command a voice in the council of nations.[93]

While Horton was no advocate of a parody of Europeanism in Sierra Leone he did see the Europeans as the "harbingers of civilisation" who helped the Sierra Leonean out of his degradation and brought them into the ranks of a civilised society.[94] His appreciation of what the Europeans had given to Sierra Leone was matched with his contempt for the Nova Scotians and the Maroons. It was the CMS he believed, that had the greatest regenerative influence in the educational and ecclesiastical department in Sierra Leone. Of the early settlers he wrote:

> they were by nature a bigoted and self opinionated race who had been driven from Nova Scotia. They looked down with contempt on the liberated African.[95]

There was no word of respect nor appreciation of the great debt that Sierra Leone owed to the settlers. The reason - the settlers own attitude towards the recaptives. It was their notions of superiority that were to prove the most offensive to recaptives and Europeans alike. And yet in their superiority was their conviction that they held the truth of religion for they were God's chosen people. It was they, and their descendants who were, according to the early philanthropists, to be a beacon of light in Africa. That educated and respected men like Horton could see them only as a "bigoted and self opinionated race" goes some way in pinpointing their decline, and in their decline the gradual decline of the what was recognisable as "a Nova Scotian spirit of religion".

The success or failure of the native pastorate and indeed of Christianity in Sierra Leone in general can only be judged when all these factors are understood. The native pastorate has been criticised as a failure due to the CMS, a failure due to the Established Church, a failure due to the native pastors and the congregations. It has also been acclaimed a success, a sign of the advance of Christianity in West Africa,

and an advance in the thinking of the Missionary Society. James Johnson wrote of the native pastorate:

> We see around us nothing that we can call our own in the true sense of the term; nothing that shows an independent native capability - excepting this infant Native Pastorate Institution; for this reason, and for the conviction that we have that it is capable of being a mighty instrument to develop the principles which create and strengthen a nation. We cleave to it.[96]

Johnson and Crowther saw the potential within the native pastorate, it was an opportunity for self expression, and for self growth. Within the native pastorate educated young man could prove that their education and their ability was equal to that of any missionary belonging to the CMS. The native pastorate was a church for the recaptives, and a church that looked to the educated recaptives for support. It appeared as the ultimate proof that Christianity was exportable, and not only Christianity but the Church of England, tied as it was to the State and nation.

The case of the Five Pastors sums up most effectively the problems that the native pastorate faced and indicates how many of the members of the native pastorate understood their position. The case occurred two decades after the native pastorate came into existence. Bishop Ingham withdrew the licence from the minister of Waterloo, the Rev Moses Taylor, because of his refusal to obey the Bishop's orders. Taylor appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and both his right to appeal and the case were accepted because, it was discovered, the Articles of the Sierra Leone Native Pastorate had never been legally validated in 1861. His license was restored but Ingham, furious at the situation, drew up revised Articles subjecting pastors to local discipline in Sierra Leone. The articles were legally validated in 1890 and Ingham called for the pastors to sign them. Five pastors refused - Taylor, G J MaCaulay of Kissy, Hazely of Wellington, M Pearse of Christ Church, Pademba Road, and H P Thompson of Benguema. Ingham persuaded the CMS, which owned the freehold of the churches and the parsonages, to take legal action against the five. Congregations split, some were for, many were against the pastors. Numbers left the churches and entered the fold of the Methodist or the independent churches. What

is significant is not only the action that the Bishop took, but the attitude of the congregations. Many of the congregations in each of the five churches rejected their ministers in favour of the Bishop's decision, an indication of the changing times and attitudes.

FOOTNOTES

1 C Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, Leiden, 1990, p 3.

2 CMS Printed Pamphlets, 'The Native Pastorate and Organisation of Native Churches', Paper 1, 1851.

3 Williams notes that the question of native pastors came before the parent committee in 1848. The parent committee issued a minute sent to all bishops and missionaries. G/CI, Vol 2, no 6, pp 389-92, 18 April 1848. C Peter Williams, *op cit*, p 5.

4 CAI/L5, Sierra Leone Native Church - articles of a proposed arrangement between the Bishop of Sierra Leone and the Church Missionary Society in respect of the regulation of the Native Church in the Colony of Sierra Leone, 1 December 1852, Venn to Vidal.

5 T E Yates, *Venn and the Victorian bishops Abroad*, London, 1978, p 123. The Articles were never passed through Parliament as part of Church law.

6 CAI/L5, 1 December 1852, Venn to Vidal. Yates and Fyfe both discuss the disaster of the 'legal invalidity' of the arrangement but there was little more that Venn could achieve. T E Yates, *op cit*, p 120. C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 509.

7 CMS Printed Pamphlets, G/AZI/1, No 146. On the Organisation of Native Churches, in *Mission*, 8 January 1866.

8 CMS Printed pamphlets, Paper 2, G/AZI/1, No 116. On the Organisation of Native Churches, in *Mission*, 9 July 1861.

9 CA2/L1, Instructions to Townsend, Gollmer, and Crowther, 28 October 1844.

10 CMS Printed Pamphlets, Paper I, p 120.

11 CMS Printed Pamphlets, Paper 3, no 146, 8 January 1866.

12 Paper 2, No 116, 9 July 1861.

13 Venn's instructions to missionaries. Cited, Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, London, CMS, 1916, vol 3, p 418.

14 CMS Printed Pamphlets, Paper 2, No 116, 9 July 1861.

15 *Ibid*.

16 CMS Printed Pamphlets, Paper 3, No 146, 8 January 1866.

17 CMS Printed Pamphlets, Paper 2, No 116, 9 July 1861.

18 Yates explains these difficulties, quoting Venn's letter to Vidal: the Duke of Newcastle became so angry with the Society for opposing the Colonial Church Regulation Bill. 28 February, 1853 CAI/l5, pp 120-1. T E Yates, *op cit*, p 120.

19 Williams notes that letters were sent to Weeks, CAI/L6, 23 October 1855 and to Bowen, 24 January 1859.

20 CAI/L7, 23 March 1860, Venn to Beckles.

21 CAI/L7, 23 January 1863, Venn to Beckles, p 206.

22 In 1854 the CMS placed the financial support of the village schools on the native church.

23 CAI/L7, 23 January 1863, Venn to Rev H C Binns, p 279. Cited, C Peter Williams, *op cit*, p 28.

24 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 327.

25 CAI/025, 18 May 1861, Beckles to Venn.

26 CAI/025, 20 April 1863, Beckles to Venn.

27 CAI/025, 25 May 1864, Beckles to Venn.

28 CAI/L7, 20 January 1865, Venn to Beckles.

29 CAI/025, 1 February 1873, Cheetham to Venn. Cited, T E Yates, *op cit*, p 132.

30 *The Record*, 15 February 1855. Archbishop Sumner and Henry Labouchere, Secretary of State for the Colonies, tried to persuade Venn of the appointment.

31 CAI/L3, 23 January 1864, Venn to Rev J A Lamb.

32 *Ibid*. See also Crowther's objections, CA3/04, 4 April 1860, Crowther to Venn.

33 T E Yates, *op cit*, p 153.

34 Williams notes that in a letter written to Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, Venn suggested that it would not be good for a native church to have European missionaries under the authority of a native Bishop. European missionaries should remain under European Bishops. As churches became self governing they would naturally chose to accept the authority of native Bishop. CI1/L6, 26 December 1864, p 430, Venn to Cotton, cited, C Peter Williams, *op cit*, p 33.

35 T E Yates, *op cit*, p 153.

36 Letter, 18 December 1838. Cited, William Knight, *Memoir of Henry Venn BD*, London, Seely, Jackson and Halliday, 1882, p 205.

37 CA3/L3, 24 April 1865, letter from Venn to Mann.

38 CA3/L1, 23 April 1858, Secretaries to Crowther.

39 CA2/016, 29 October 1851, letter sent from Isaac Smith, Henry Townsend, David Hinderer, and C A Gollmer.

40 CA2/085, 5 November 1859, Townsend to Venn. CA2/L2, 21 January 1860, Venn to Townsend.

41 Letter, cited in J Page, *The Black Bishop: Samuel Crowther*, London, 1908, p 45.

42 Hollis Lynch, 'The Native Pastorate Controversy and Cultural theo-centricism in Sierra Leone 1871-1874', *Journal of African History*, 5, 1964, pp 395-413, p 405.

43 P E H Hair, 'E.W Blyden and the CMS Freetown 1871-2', SLBR, vol 1, no 1, June 1962, pp 22-28, p 22. See Hollis Lynch's biography of Blyden, *Edward Wilmot Blyden, Pan-Negro Patriot, 1832-1912*, London, 1967.

44 P E H Hair, 'E W Blyden and the CMS Freetown 1871-2', *op cit*, p 23.

45 CAI/0123, 19 April 1873, James Johnson to M Taylor and others.

46 CA2/09(a), 7 May 1873, James Quaker to the Managers and Secretary, "Missionary Leaves Association".

47 CA2/L4, 26 February 1884, E Hutchinson to James Johnson, E A Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism* 1836-1917, London, Frank Cass, 1970, p 81.

48 E A Ayandele, *op cit*, p 79.

49 *Ibid*, p 90.

50 *Ibid*, p 97.

51 Quoted in *Lagos Weekly Record*, 27 October 1917, cited, E A Ayandele, *op cit*, p 99.

52 CAI/09, 5 February 1868, Blackall to native pastorate.

53 J A R Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples*, with an introduction by George Shepperson, Edinburgh, 1969, p 185-6.

54 T E Yates, *op cit*, p 132.

55 C Fyfe, 'The Life and Times of John Ezzidio', in *Eminent Sierra Leoneans in the Nineteenth Century*, Department of Information for the Sierra Leone Society, 1961, pp 22-30.

56 CA3/04, 4 April 1860, Crowther to Venn.

57 *Notes on the Separation of the Yoruba and Popo District from the Gold Coast in Methodist House*, 5 July 1878, cited, J F A Ajayi and M Crowder, *Christian Missions in Nigeria. The Making of a New Elite 1841-1891*, London, Longmans, 1965, p 256.

58 'Memoir of Anthony O'Connor' in *The United Methodist Free Church Magazine*, 1861, pp 175ff.

59 *United Methodist Free Church Magazine*, 1863, p 374.

60 Matei Markwei, 'The Rev Charles Knight in Methodist History', 11, *SLBR*, vol 9, no 2, December 1967, pp 55-66, p 59.

61 *Ibid*.

62 WMMS, 27 March 1864, Ezzidio.

63 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 350.

64 WMMS, 1928, Minutes of the Annual District Meeting of Tuesday, 28 January 1868.

65 WMMS, 1968, James Greer to W B Boyce, 9 June 1874.

66 WMMS, 1927, 31 December 1867, Thorpe to Boyce.

67 WMMS, 1927, 18 November 1865, Tregaskis.

68 J D Hargreaves, *Life of Sir Samuel Lewis*, London, 1958, p 18.

69 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 388.

70 *The Harbinger*, 1860, p 11-12.

71 *The Harbinger*, 1863, vol 1, (new series), p 29.

72 Cited in the *Magazine of the Free Church of England*, February 1872, p 27.

73 The *Harbinger*, 1863, 25 September 1862, p 28.

74 *Ibid*, pp 29-30.

75 *Ibid*, p 316.

76 C Fyfe, 'The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in Nineteenth Century Sierra Leone, *SLBR*, vol 4, no 2, December 1962, p 60.

77 *Ibid*.

78 *Ibid*.

79 CA1/09, Sierra Leone Native Church Pastorate Auxilliary Report, 30 April 1866. Cited, C Fyfe, 'The Baptist Churches in Sierra Leone', *SLBR*, vol 5, no 2, 1963, pp 55-60, p 59.

80 C Fyfe, 'The Baptist Churches in Sierra Leone', *SLBR*, vol 5, no 2, 1963, p 59.

81 *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 30 March 1887. C Fyfe, 'The Baptist Churches in Sierra Leone', *SLBR*, vol 5, no 2, 1963, p 60.

82 CO 267/464, Census Report enclosed in Crown Agent 8 May 1902. C Fyfe, *'The Baptist Churches in Sierra Leone', SLBR*, vol 5, no 2, 1963, p 60.

83 CAI/037, 23 September 1846, Beale to Secretary.

84 Fyfe has noted that Reade tried to persuade Governor Kennedy to take some notice of the Muslim immigrants into Freetown and appoint an official to prevent the exploitation from Muslim landlords through whom they did business. C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 368. Reade published a further work entitled *The African Sketch Book* in 1873.

85 R F Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, London, 1863, 2 vols. *Abeokuta and the Cameroons Mountain*, London, 2 vols, 1863. *A mission to Gelele, King of Dahome*, London, 2 vols, 1864. He also published, along with V L Cameron, *To the Gold Coast for Gold*, London, 2 vols, 1883.

86 J A B Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples*, Edinburgh, 1969, pp 40-43. See, R W July, *Origins of Modern Thought*.

87 J D Hargreaves, *Prelude to the Partition of West Africa*, London, MacMillan, 1966, p 27.

88 J D Hargreaves, *op cit*, p 63.

89 J D Hargreaves, *op cit*, p 65.

90 J D Hargreaves, *op cit*, p 71. On the Parliamentary Select Committee see Hargreaves, *op cit*, pp 64-81. Burton gave evidence to the Select Committee,

evidence that was strongly prejudiced but listened to and accepted by some of the committee.

91 C Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, p 337.

92 J A B Horton, *op cit*.

93 *Ibid*, p 61.

94 *Ibid*. p 247.

95 *Ibid*, p 26.

96 C Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance*, p 210. CO 267/317, letter from Rev James Johnson to Governor Hennessy, enclosed in Hennessy's despatch no 153, of 11 December 1872.

CONCLUSION

The story of the development of Christianity in Sierra Leone is a story of the interplay between three groups of people from different backgrounds with different experiences of religion. The settlers from Nova Scotia with their evangelical religion presented through the channel of New Light teaching; the recaptives, rescued from slave ships and freed in Sierra Leone to build a new life and a new society; and the various European missionaries influenced by the Evangelical Revival of the century before and by their particular denominational affiliation, all met in Sierra Leone. They interwove their understanding of God and how God could and should be approached, each group expressing their Christian beliefs in a way that challenged the other. The churches grew rapidly. Many in Britain noted with pride the extension of Christianity in Africa. Missionary reports and the Register of missionary activities told eager groups of how the "heathen" were being brought to a saving faith in God, and how Sierra Leone would prove to be a beacon of light in Africa:

> The state of the Colony is such as to call forth anxious expectation and enlarged hope. In it there are gathered together, through the providence of God overruling the cupidity and wickedness of man, materials by which, in various ways, if the Spirit of the Lord be poured out, the Gospel of Christ may sound throughout a great portion of Africa. This is an object of the noblest Christian Benevolence. Let the Church of Sierra Leone shine with primitive brightness, and its light shall attract the regard of surrounding Tribes far and near.[1]

Sierra Leoneans themselves recognised the place of the Christian church and upheld the value of a Christian society and a Christian education. By 1861 there was no doubt in many of the professional classes in the peninsula that the source of England's greatness, the Bible, was also proving to be the source of Sierra Leone's greatness.

The roots of Krio Christianity are to be found in a particular period of Nova Scotian history. The freedom of religious expression in Nova Scotia promised by the "Charter of Nova Scotia" of 1759 had set the scene for the movement from New England of

many who felt they were being religiously persecuted. Many were the remnants of the Great Awakening in New England when George Whitefield had not only called on all to turn to a new life in Christ, repenting of their sins, but had condemned unconverted ministers as perverters of the gospel and hypocrites.[2] Churches where ministers were deemed not to be true servants of Christ, were abandoned and New Lights sprung up. Their preaching and behaviour were in opposition to the more traditional members of the churches who became dubbed Old Lights. The New Lights were marked with behaviour which seemed excessive to the more traditional; screams and groans accompanied conversion as many caught in the trauma fell to the ground in fits and faints crying aloud for mercy. Visions became popular, with numerous sights of heaven and hell used as a means of edifying all those who sought a higher lifestyle.

In Nova Scotia some of those influenced by the New England Awakening were brought to re-experience this vitality of religion under the influence of the prophet of the revival in Nova Scotia, Henry Alline. Alline echoed Whitefield's distaste for hypocritical ministers, and his concern that men and women should come under conviction of sin. He argued for the necessity of conversion, with repentance of sin, and a searching after God. "At the Hour of conversion the Son of God takes possession of the inmost soul, or the immortal Mind, but leaveth the fallen immortal body in its fallen State still".[3] He believed that each person had a spark of the Divine in him, and this spark or soul came from God and shared God's nature. The spark was fired into flame by the power of the Holy Spirit called down by those anxiously seeking salvation. The process of seeking continued in a pronounced and distinctive way climaxing in the realisation that Christ had entered one's life, changing it entirely. Much effort and many hours spent in prayer and pleading before God were necessary before signs of change could come about. The experience was so essential to Christian membership that it became coded into various recognisable steps. The emotional involvement of conversion and the Christian life of the converted was intense. The New Lights and Alline advocated a religion of feeling which the black loyalists arriving in Nova Scotia, destitute, with only promises of land and their

freedom, could identify with. Alline pushed the boundaries of the evangelical norm far beyond anything that the evangelical Clapham Sect in England could ever recognise. In offering an ideology that functioned to give the many incomers into Nova Scotia, a sense of identity and a sense of purpose and unique mission in the spectrum of God's history, Alline's theology provided a framework whereby the black loyalists could claim their own place as chosen people of God.

Many of the black loyalists were already familiar with the preaching of the Christian gospel from their experiences in the South where the influence of George Whitefield, itinerant Methodist preachers and Baptists had inspired the setting up of small meeting places. The black loyalists readily joined, indeed some participated in the leading of Methodist, Baptist and Countess of Huntingdon Churches and in these they experienced a strong-knit community. Attempts to bring the black loyalists under the control and authority of the Church of England in Nova Scotia were singularly unsuccessful. The Bishop, Charles Inglis, continually blamed the enthusiastic New Lights for the disruption of religious life. When the Jamaican Maroons arrived in Nova Scotia, reliving history before they too were transported to Sierra Leone, they were brought under the influence of the Anglican Church and kept separate from any of the enthusiastic groups. Dallas, the historian of the Maroons, regretted that the sandimanian schoolmaster whom he noted had a far better chance of success in conducting their Christian instruction was excluded for fear his dissenting principles should wrongly influence them.[4]

While the Maroons played little part in influencing the religious history of Sierra Leone, the black loyalists exposed to all the emotional upheaval, dramatic new birth experiences and assurances of remaining in everlasting redeeming love, set the framework in which Christianity in Sierra Leone developed.

The black loyalists arrived into Sierra Leone, according to tradition, singing in rapturous praise to God who had brought them to their promised land. They came to Sierra Leone with their Christian beliefs couched in their particular experiences

of worship. They also came wary of the place of the Anglican Church, and its role alongside the Government. While they united with the early chaplains attending joint services, they never fully identified with the chaplains' Christianity despite the early chaplains being as much children of the Evangelical Revival as they were themselves. The chaplains in representing the Church of England were seen to be participants in the Government which increasingly seemed opposed to what the Nova Scotians stood for. As one of the settlers told Clarke, that honest presbyterian sent out as Company chaplain, "I do not call fine haranguings preachings", he said, "that won't do for me, your preaching must agree with what I feel, that's my test. If it does not then I must know you are wrong".[5] Those who did not share this style of thinking were rejected as pretenders in the Christian faith. When Horne, one of the first Colonial Chaplains, attempted to expose what he called the folly of reliance on dreams and visions as incontestable proof of the acceptance of God, he was met with harsh condemnation.

Clarkson, the settlers' organiser in Nova Scotia and their Governor in Sierra Leone, the chaplains, and later the missionaries all struggled to understand the settlers particular expression of Christianity. It defied them and they put it down to the settlers' lack of education and knowledge of the things of God. They believed that once the settlers became more acquainted with the things of God through the preaching of the word by the missionaries, then the excesses of their religion would dwindle away and they would come to exhibit behaviour more in keeping with the holy sobriety of the Reformation churches. These excesses recalled the uncontrolled behaviour of the early Quakers and the wild untoward behaviour that had appeared among some of those following John Wesley's preaching. Wesley had condemned such uncontrolled behaviour seeing it as a distraction and potentially the work of the devil. Yet the settler churches flourished in a manner that seemed unruly and unstructured, and even Zachary Macaulay had to admit that many were earnest in their beliefs.

The settlers were always small in number and when the recaptives began arriving in the Colony they very soon outnumbered the settlers who in turn responded by

establishing themselves as an elite group, a superior class above the recently freed slaves. The recaptives began to arrive from 1808 onwards, disorientated and deprived of all that was familiar to them. Many were ill from the time spent on board ship. They had been wrenched from their society and family and thrown together. No clear policy was evolved for their welfare until Governor Charles MacCarthy arrived in the Colony and initiated his Parish Plan in 1816, a comprehensive policy that provided a welfare plan for the recaptives on a model village scheme. MacCarthy drew together two different aims for the Colony, that of the Colony being a productive alternative economy to the slave trade, and that of the Colony acting as a beacon of light that would draw all Africa to Christ. He merged them so efficiently as to give the impression that the one was impossible without the other. Evangelisation became part and parcel of creating a civilised Christian country. Clergymen in every village were to act not only as ministers but also as teachers, organisers, supervisors and judges.

MacCarthy's scheme was dependant for its functioning on the CMS. The CMS came with specific aims - to bring the good news to the heathen, and to see a Christian church and Christian community develop. Missionaries believed that through the establishment of Christianity a civilisation would develop. W A B Johnson noted:

> It has been the act of that same Divine Power which wrought, by the same Divine Truth, that mighty change in our own barbarous ancestors - of that Divine Power which... brought rude man to feel the blessings of social life and of all the meek and heavenly tempers of the Christian, and gave birth to those Laws and Institutions which, re-enacting with a benign influence on the minds and manners of this whole people, have rendered us, with all our crimes, a real blessing to the world.[6]

Sierra Leone was and would continue to become a blessing to the world through the Divine Power establishing the Laws and Institutions among the barbarous recaptive peoples. Methodist missionaries, invited by the settler Methodist congregations, likewise saw their role in facilitating the conversion of those living in darkness in order to bring them into Christ's kingdom and civilisation. Beecham, one of the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, wrote: "No sooner does the gospel begin to operate upon the mind of the heathen than it leads to the first step of civilisation".[7]

Shortly after the creation of this scheme the superintendents of the village began to see signs that their work was not in vain. Evidences appeared to indicate that the Christian message preached by the missionaries was taking root among the villagers and responses were being made to the words of Christ. The Church Missionary Society and the Methodists organised regular services on Sundays and daily early morning services, following the Anglican tradition. The missionaries looked for interest among the recaptives and indications that the Christian message of a Holy God and a sinful helpless human race was having an impact on them. Sermons were preached on the wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, and the threat that the wicked would remain in eternal torment. The work was seen to be a slow process of maturation into the faith, the first sign being the recognition of sin in the recaptives' lives. When this happened recaptives would, the missionaries hoped, begin to attend preparation classes where they would learn the truths of the faith and begin to demonstrate both in their speech and actions a credible profession of faith. It was this credible profession of faith that opened the doors for baptism into the church and the opportunity, as a member, to partake in the sacraments. The CMS Missionary, Young, summed up the expectations of the missionaries when he wrote to the CMS secretary:

> I have been able in some measure to mark the gradual progress of the work of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of those persons since they were put under my instruction. Their steady and constant attendance on the means of instructions and other "means of Grace" together with their consistent work and conversation in the eyes of their countrymen and constant attendance on the Public Worship of our God has been truly pleasing to me.[8]

The four signs, those of constant attendance on the means of grace, consistent work, consistent conversation, and constant attendance at public worship provided the proof that the gospel was having the desired effect. As the recaptive progressed in his or her life as a member of the church, the search for "vital godliness" was pressed on them. It was assumed that their conversion experience from a credible profession of faith, to a life of holiness, would be recognisable by the converts' "holy sorrow".

Conversion of the evangelical nature came when one was within the church, and became aware of the need for a deeper commitment to God. The missionaries looked for the signs of "vital godliness" among the recaptives and were encouraged when they found in their villagers the piety that indicated a conviction of sin, and a seeking after righteousness.

What the missionaries did not expect, but what they found, were the signs of evangelical conversion among those whose understanding of the Christian message was minimal:

> What am I to do when they apply for salvation, saying - I get too much trouble in my heart, I want to pray to God, I am afraid to die, I fear to go to Hell, I am a sinner - I cannot reject them because they perhaps cannot speak sufficient English or because they are very imperfect in their knowledge of Divine things.[9]

Groans and cries for mercy; dreams and visions in which the recaptives claimed God was calling them to turn to Him; long nights spent in prayer; jumpings and tremblings; collapsing on the ground; and the continual cry that their heart was troubled, characterised the recaptives' response to the Christian message. The phenomena associated with the revivals in Britain and America seemed to be appearing in Sierra Leone. The evangelical conversion experience so characteristic of the revivals was the experience of the recaptives, only its form seemed to be accentuated:

> In our endeavours to convey to the inquirers (who are still pretty numerous) right notions of the Religion which thy profess themselves anxious to embrace, and in our Addresses to the Congregations generally, we have found them very susceptible of an excitement of feeling, leading even to considerable agitation of the frame. A mode of preaching calculated to produce such effects seems to be greatly liked by them, and much preferred to an appeal to their understanding.[10]

It was in the village of Regent that the appearance of a "revivalist" type of Christianity was most noted. There the missionary, W A B Johnson found to his surprise and initial pleasure that his congregations were responding to his preaching in ways he had not anticipated. The shinglemaker who approached Johnson at the end of an evening

service and told him that his heart was troubled, was soon followed by a stream of others anxiously seeking God. Their expressions were similar; they were concerned about the state of their hearts, and they begged God for mercy, asking Him to give them a new heart. Johnson wrote of the situation:

> several cried aloud and such confusion was created by those who were thus overcome of motion that a hymn was sung while the door keepers removed them. Trembling and unable to stand or walk they had to be carried out literally in the arms of others before sufficient quiet was restored.[11]

Johnson finally banned such excesses from his services, no longer able to contain them.

It was recognised by the missionaries that what they were witnessing was a similar expression of Christianity to that found in the settler churches of Freetown. It was to the "Ranters of Freetown" that blame was attached for corrupting the recaptives minds against the proper order of the Christian life and encouraging them to expect dreams and visions and outward visible evidence that the Spirit had come to them.

The German missionary Bultmann summed up the difficulty that the CMS missionaries felt, when he remonstrated with the settler Methodist minister Joseph Jewett:

> their famous but mistaken criterion of conversion then - borne out by their practice - is an external and consequently visible and bodily evidence on the part of the subject under conversion . Firstly a crying or groaning aloud, or a trembling or knocking the benches before they kneel, or, as is mostly the case all these together. Second a rejoicing or repeating scores of times the words, "Glory to God".[12]

Bultmann had met these features among the recaptives, but he spoke to the person he felt was at the source of the problem. Jewett, to Bultmann, exemplified Nova Scotian Methodism at its worst.

While the recaptives were influenced by their role models, the Nova Scotians, they also preserved a great deal of their traditional religious practices in Sierra Leone, and these

practices and beliefs surrounding them naturally influenced their interpretation of Christianity.

The recaptives arrived without the artifacts of their old religious systems. For many the systems themselves had been turned upside down. The Fulani conquests had destroyed the power that the old gods had offered in protection.[13] They adapted to their new environment by creating microcosms of their old communities in the form of Companies or Societies. These groups were often formed on the slave ships before they ever landed in Sierra Leone. In the villages, the recaptives joined societies that provided both political cohesion and a social welfare system thus giving them the security needed to re-establish their identity. They became a shield behind which the recaptives were free to practice their traditional rituals. The preponderance of shrines built to various gods, the cults of Shango, the appearances of masquerade dance societies such as Egungun, and the power of diviners and those working medicine, all point to the influence that the societies had in re-establishing traditional values and rites.

The recaptives understood the God of the missionaries and settlers in terms of the God they already knew. It was He, one recaptive told Johnson, (his village superintendent), who had brought the recaptive to safety, and prevented him from committing suicide like many of his fellow slaves. It was the Lord who had spoken to another recaptive while on board ship telling him that He would bring him safely into Sierra Leone.

The real power battle in the recaptives' lives was seen by the missionaries to be over the issue with greegrees. The word, used by missionaries interchangeably with juju, referred to the various charms, amulets and other objects and herbs used by the recaptive to advance his traditional religious beliefs. What the recaptives did with the greegrees indicated their understanding of, and identification with, Christianity. For the missionary the two were incompatible, for many of the recaptives they were complementary. The greegrees were never dismissed from the recaptives' religious

beliefs, they remained powerful in themselves even if their power was weakened, or surpassed, by God. As one recaptive said:

> God gave white man book, gave us greegree and on them greegree we depend and call on God to help us again.[14]

Many recaptives believed that it was acceptable to use the greegree when the purpose was for good and not for evil. The encounter between the German CMS missionary, Schön, and a communicant member who was using a greegree for healing illustrates the two completely different perceptions of the greegree that the recaptives and the missionaries held. The recaptive communicant argued with Schön that he was not doing wrong because he was using the greegree to heal his cough rather than using it to harm another person. Schön was frustrated in his failure to make the recaptive understand that all uses of the greegree were wrong.[15] The greegrees were part of a greater world of spiritual power that belonged to the recaptives. It was a world hidden, for the most part, from the missionaries. Those missionaries who did come in contact with it tried to dismiss it as a snare of the Devil, refusing to recognise the power that the recaptives believed in.

When death occurred the recaptives often approached both God and the ancestors and spirits, (whose power and influence was most potent at such times). Wake keeping became a familiar practice. Prayers were offered for and to the dead, along with kola nuts and gifts for the departed. The amalgamation of traditional rites with Christian ones was most clearly seen at death, the tradition of singing to encourage the dead on their way and to scare of evil spirits was kept, Christian hymns being sung. Funeral Societies were established by the recaptives to take care of the organisation and expenses of the funerals. Some of these societies became Christian Benefit clubs, on the instruction of the missionaries.

The recaptives' interpreted the Christian message that the Nova Scotians and the missionaries presented to them, in a specific way. The heart, the great centre of

evangelical religion, became the focus of the recaptives as they sought to express their new religious beliefs in the context of their old ones. Understanding the heart as the centre of their being, the source of power and the source of their lifeblood or life breath, it made sense to the recaptives to believe that in giving their hearts to Christ they were giving him their whole self. It was what the missionaries, influenced by evangelical teaching, preached.

The powerful imagery of the battle between the good and the bad heart was used to explain why the recaptives' experienced downfalls in their Christian life. It was a different way of looking at what the missionaries regarded as sin and later it disturbed the missionaries greatly. The place of the heart was taken from both the recaptives own religious traditions, and the settler experiences of Christianity in Nova Scotia. The heart as the centre of emotions was the source of the new birth experience in Alline's theology.

The evangelical presentation of Christianity made sense to the recaptives. Influenced by the Nova Scotians' particular understanding of Christianity many recaptives underwent what appeared as a classic conversion experience. They felt remorse for their sin, they begged forgiveness from God and when they were certain that they felt such forgiveness they went on their way rejoicing. The need to experience religion, not simply perform a ritual appealed to many who interpreted the whole act of conversion as a rite of changing their heart from a bad heart to a good heart.

Sociological explanations can be offered to explain why the recaptives should have converted from their traditional religious beliefs to those of Christianity in such a short span of time. The recaptives' boundaries had been extended from those of their local communities, their old gods had proved unable to provide assistance and security in time of war and devastation, and they were forced to search for a new identity that could make sense of their conditions. The recaptives were brought face to face with a new religion which offered coherent explanations of their place in history. The recaptives began to interpret their previous experiences not as a failing of their old

gods, but as their God bringing them to Sierra Leone, causing them to be captured and to suffer in order that they could learn more about God. There was a continuum between old and new ideas and the recaptives adaptation of the process of conversion illustrates this continuum. Sociological reasoning must take into consideration the influence of the Nova Scotians and the power the Nova Scotians believed they possessed through belief in God. The Nova Scotians became role models for the recaptives. The Nova Scotian religious lifestyle was attractive and dramatic and it was active. Recaptives could participate in the religious services through visions and trances and screams and shouts for mercy.

The recaptives were not exclusive in their religious beliefs. They held that the power of the religion was in the relationship between the spiritual world and the local world. Interaction was all important and all significant, it encouraged growth and understanding, and it made sense of religious concepts and ideas by grounding them in day to day experiences. The recaptives proved that the categorisation of religious beliefs into separate and particular systems was a false way of understanding the relationship that God had with all his people. Their Christianity was a vast experiment in absorbtion and rejection as they searched after their true God. Professor A F Walls noted:

> What we call for convenience "religions" are not in any case self-contained mutually exclusive entities which can be adopted or exchanged at will. From the standpoint of the believer or the community of believers there is bound to be a continuum of perception and experience, even through periods of religious change; new ideas and activities, even the need for new ideas and activities, inevitably emerge in terms of the old.[16]

The form that Christianity took in Sierra Leone was a product, and a reflection, of the society in which it developed. The influence of the missionaries had gradually become greater as the power and influence of the Nova Scotians declined. The recaptives established themselves, taking advantage of the education and other benefits of society. Many gained employment in Government jobs, some came to Britain to train as medical doctors and lawyers. Others, particularly those from the villages,

found employment in the CMS churches as lay agents. Attendance at church became a social activity, e.g. society weddings were held in the biggest and most elaborate of the churches, St George's Cathedral, regardless of denomination. Many recaptives amassed great wealth through trading, and large houses were built as signs of social well being. The most sought after area of town for building was in the old Nova Scotian townland. The missionaries created a middle class, so enabling the Nova Scotians and the *nouveaux riches* recaptives to take their place as the aristocracy. The incomers from upcountry, the original ethnic peoples of Sierra Leone, were regarded as a lower class, because they lacked education, wealth and Christianity.

The difficulty that was faced in Sierra Leone was how to assimilate Christianity into a culture that was itself in a developmental process. The Christianity that did develop reflected this process, it was neither an English Christianity nor did it appear as an African Christianity. It was not a syncretism of different cultures and traditions, nor a parody of English Christianity as some have criticized it as being, the religious analogue of the pidgin English. Instead, Christianity in Sierra Leone was a reflection of the developing culture, a translation of Christ among the Krio people. Just as Krio Society was able to identify with, and accept traditions from Britain, Nova Scotia and from the various West African countries in its creation so also did Christianity. At various stages the traditions and patterns brought by different sectors of the community proved more accessible and more appropriate than others. As Sierra Leonean society developed towards a more Anglified position, a more determined effort was made to adapt to the legal, educational and social responses of Britain.

The Native Pastorate Church reflected this increasing move towards England. The new bourgeoisie in Sierra Leone expressed their needs using the system that was put in place by Britain, and through this system the Native Pastorate Church was able to function using Venn's policy of a self governing, self financing self propagating church. The native pastorate, while it used the Church of England as a model, did not parody it. The difficulty it faced was that the missionaries and some of the white officials in the Colony were unable to accept black authority. In the hierarchy of the native

pastorate lay the problems that were to dog it for the rest of its life. Henry Venn's refusal to have Crowther appointed as Bishop of Sierra Leone and Crowther's refusal to take up such a position should it be offered to him, express both the success of the development of Krio Christianity and its failure. In that there was a lack of trust among the white missionaries of African ability and a fear of losing power, coupled with inadequate resources to secure complete independence from the CMS, the native pastorate can be viewed as a story that ends in disappointment and failed goals.

However Crowther, and Venn, recognised that what was important was an African Bishop for an African Church, a truly "native" church. In this recognition lay the key to the future of Christianity in West Africa, the notion of the right and proper place of African Christianity. Crowther strongly believed that his adopted faith would only make sense to his people if it were understood within their own context. Christianity, he believed had come into the world to abolish false religion but it "does not undertake to destroy national assimilation".[17] It was on these principles that Crowther conducted his mission in relation to England.

An African Bishop for an African church would have been deemed an impossible goal in 1792. The Nova Scotians and the recaptives had made the impossible into a reality when Crowther was appointed as Bishop of the territories beyond the Queen's Dominions.

Christianity in Sierra Leone developed from three small but independent and effective black churches in 1792 to numerous Christian bodies with influence not just in Sierra Leone but throughout West Africa. The form that Krio Christianity took as it developed was influenced by the behaviour and religious experiences of the Nova Scotians, who themselves were influenced by the New Lights and the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia. The story of the development of Christianity would have been very different if the Maroons, who had little contact with the wider expressions of Christianity in Nova Scotia, had been the only settlers to arrive into the Colony. The missionary belief that the excessive behaviour that they found in the churches was a

problem of temperament and ignorance fails to recognise the great mission of the Nova Scotians in Sierra Leone. Assuming it to be in the African's nature to behave in such an emotional manner, and continually encouraging greater teaching and understanding of the things of God as a means of stopping such wild outbursts among their congregation, meant that the missionaries many times failed to come to the heart of the recaptive gospel. At first sight the missionaries appear to have been proved right in their prediction that as time went on and ignorance was dispelled the excesses would die down. While their prognosis may have been correct to a degree, and the native pastorate did represent sobriety and orderliness, their diagnosis of the situation was wrong. The recaptives' behaviour was not caused by ignorance and the result of the African temperament; it came about from perceiving and adopting the religious manners of their role models. As their role models decreased in numbers and dwindled, the recaptives adapted to new influences of British education and British manners. It was not that one form of expression of Christianity was better, or more sustainable than the other. The supersession of the enthusiasm by the structured, more controlled Christianity reflected changes in the structures of the society. The spark never dies. The Methodist's enthusiasm for sanctification, perhaps reflects the upsurging of that same spirit, as does the enthusiasm of the Countess of Huntingdon Connexion meeting where, "After the service was concluded the people sat down and shouted till past nine."[18] The Countess of Huntingdon, the settler church that maintained itself for the greatest period of time without European involvement may have the last word:

> We do not believe in the *opus operatum*, the mere act - in any religious duty. That which is spiritual and acceptable to God must receive its character from the feelings, the motives, the intentions of the heart.
>
> God prepares the heart for usefulness... And have you not enough to stir up your heart till it pleases Him.[19]

FOOTNOTES

1 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1829-30, p 47.

2 At the period of the American revolution Nova Scotia had a population of approximately 20,000 people sixty percent of whom were from New England.

3. Henry Alline, 'Two Mites on some of the most important and most disputed Points of Divinity', Halifax, 1781, p 94, in Maurice Armstrong, *The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia 1776-1809*, Hartford Conn, 1948, p 107.

4 R C Dallas, *History of the Maroons*, ii, 1803, p 221.

5 Viscountess Knutsford, *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*, London, 1900, 24 May 1796.

6 *Missionary Register*, 1820, p 474.

7 D J East, *Western Africa: The Condition, and Christianity the Means of its Recovery*, London, 1844, p 243.

8 CAI/0232, Young's journal, March 1832.

9 *Missionary Register*, 1833, report from Metzger, p 52.

10 *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, 1829-30, p 44.

11 CAI/E7, 5 July 1818, Johnson to Secretary.

12 CAI/059, 27 April 1844, Bultmann's journal.

13 Around 1800 an internal revolt saw the overthrow of the Oyo Alafin (ruler), no successor was appointed an the old Oyo state, which had been the most powerful of the Hausa state in the eighteenth century, began to disintegrate. The Fulani people took advantage of the disintegration to sweep through preaching a *Jihad* against the Hausa States, and targeting the old Oyo empire. Illorin, in the Oyo territory, became the new seat of government of the Fullani and the Yoruba found themselves pushed further and further to new centres such as Ibadan and Abeokuta.

14 CAI/086, 8 December 1820, Charles Decker to Secretary.

15 CAI/0195, 25 March 1834, Schön to Secretary.

16 A F Walls, 'Primal Religious Traditions in Today's World', F B Whaling (ed), *Religion in To-day's World*, Edinburgh T and T Clark, 1987, pp 250-278, pp 250-1.

17 CA3/04, S A Crowther, 13 September 1869, charge at Lokaja.

18 *The Harbinger*, 1863, p 378.

19 *The Harbinger*, 1853, p 240.

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CAI/L1-L9, outgoing correspondence from secretaries to missionaries (mainly the mission secretary).

CAI/M, Mission books, incoming papers copied into mission books and numbered chronologically.

CAI/O, all incoming papers sent to headquarters by mission secretaries and missionaries; numbered according to the individuals who wrote them and arranged alphabetically.

G/ACI/3-19, 1838-1875, General Secretary's outgoing correspondence.

G/Y/AI/1, Letters to and from James Johnson.

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